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2 JANUARY 1987

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RECORD CORN CROP: LOWER WHEAT IMPORTS PLANNED

[Editorial Report] According to 20 November 1986 Belgrade press sources (PRIVREDNI PREGLED, page 12, and BORBA, page 14), with 98.8 percent of the fields cleared, 12,245,200 tons of corn has been harvested, or 6.3 percent more than expected and an absolute record up to now. But state procurement of the crop is lagging considerably, with only 1.2 million tons bought up thus far of the 4.5 million tons planned. The lag has arisen because of hesitation by the state to print more money for this purpose, considered inflationary by many, according to PRIVREDNI PREGLED.

This disagreement over corn procurement (caused also by declining world prices for corn), it was said, has made farmers concerned also over payment for wheat. They fear that "with the new provisions of the draft law on changes in the Law on Prices, the protective wheat prices will be changed by harvest time as costs rise." Nevertheless, because of low corn prices, the wheat planting plan will certainly be met and perhaps surpassed this fall; 1,272,600 hectares have thus far been planted, or 90.8 percent of the planned area and 6.3 percent more than last year at this time, under very good weather conditions with warm temperatures and adequate rainfall in most of the country. In Vojvodina and Croatia the fall wheat planting plan has been exceeded by 8.9 percent (in Vojvodina 28,433 more hectares than planned have been planted) and in Slovenia by 6.8 percent. Serbia proper is lagging behind with only 66.8 percent of the planned area planted, because of prolonged dry weather in the south and southeastern parts of the republic.

In regard to sugar beets, BORBA reported that 5,355,900 tons have been harvested which is expected to yield between 750,000 and 780,000 tons of sugar.

Sava Vujkov, president of the Federal Committee for Agriculture, said (in the 25 November 1986 issue of BORBA, page 1) that Yugoslavia will reduce wheat imports in 1987 to only 250,000 tons, 150,000 tons of which will be durum wheat to be used exclusively to improve production in the milling and baking industry.

The 21 November 1986 issue of PRIVREDNI PREGLED, page 2, reported that between 1 October 1985 and 1 October 1986, 1,430,517 tons of corn had been sold on the world market from last year's harvest at an average price of \$102 per ton. Plans to export an additional 395,000 tons were cancelled. It is planned to export 1.8 million tons of corn from this year's harvest and the first quantities of 700,000 tons have been delivered. With the world market price ranging between \$70 and \$78 per ton, this means a loss [to Yugoslav producers] of 35 dinars per kilogram, according to Momcilo Simic, of the Yugoslav Grain Fund.

COMPLAINTS ABOUT CONSUMER GOODS SHORTAGES VOICED

Sofia OTECHESTVO in Bulgarian 23. Sep 86 p 6

[Article by Momchil Mladenov: Things for Everyone, or Once Again about the Industry for Ordinary People]

[Text] As can be seen from the classical poet's play on words, even the bohemian prefers a glass of good beer now instead of promises for a silver goblet with nectar in the future. It is not the first time that in this section of the magazine we deal with the point made by one of our contemporary poets: man needs them only while he is alive... From this perspective, the picture may seem somewhat gloomy, but let's get down to it without closing our eyes; the situation, that is, the present one, not the one we hope to see in the future, is not at all rosy. The poet is right. People need only a few things unrelated to their work or intellectual pursuits, but go ahead and try to find these things in the stores! And since everyone has his own personal experiences and his own personal disappointments, we will start with ours.

Months before September 15th, we started looking for a little school desk for our second-grader. We went to all the furniture stores of greater Sofia and, believe it or not, we couldn't find any. What's more important no one could tell us why. Someone was making them somewhere, but that someone has now stopped and delayed their production. You listen to the indifferent sales clerks telling you how lots of people come by every day, but that they haven't received any desks and won't be receiving them any time soon. We solved the problem by ourselves. People got tired of hearing us complain and gave us a used one. The consolation is that several fine boys have already finished their basic education on it and that we can expect good results in the next few years. We cleaned it up, fixed it, and the first homework assignments have already been done. And speaking of furniture, while we were looking for a little desk we decided to buy the two kitchen stools we needed. So naturally we visited some kitchen furniture stores. But as it turned out, these specialty stores do not stock them; they simply do not figure in their inventory and that's that. But isn't this for kitchen furniture... So what! Somewhere has given the order and the instructions are being followed not only successfully, but with obvious pleasure... In the other stores they looked at us in amazement: they sell large, heavy, expensive, etc. furniture for thousands of leva and we are looking for kitchen stools. The problem was solved in spite of everything. We bought two little chairs, three little metal legs, and the

type of little black plastic seats made for polyclinics, hospitals, and laboratories. And we bought them from a supermarket!

We don't want to be abusive about the manufacture and sale of consumer goods. Besides, there have been some good examples in this field in Tolbuhin, Plovdiv, Bankya, Pavlikeni, etc.... But when things get to an overwhelming unexplainable chaos we don't feel we should remain silent. There are some phenomena that exist only to wreck your nerves. It has been months since dry white wine was sold in the capital city. The 50 and 100 gram bottles of spirits have vanished into thin air. It is rare to find half-liter bottles. Usually there are only bottles of 700 grams as if for the citizens' convenience and as if it helps the fight against alcohol abuse. And again, when we ask why, the answer is: somebody, somewhere, and so on... In the center of the capital, in its very navel, as we say, there is a department store called "Kristal." Since it is a department store you would think that you'd be able to order in the green room cafe whatever is sold fresh and in large quantities in the self service department. Nothing like that; not only can't you get pastries most of the time, but you can't get coffee unless they deign to serve you instant coffee. To the right and to the left they sell cola, soda water, beer but nothing in between. The establishment is impressive. It has nice interior architecture and design. Even the background music system works most of the time at a bearable volume. Think of it: the government has selected a location, built and furnished it, installed a manager, and the result is that you don't feel like ever returning! Some department store, aah!...

Unfortunately for all, as it happens sometimes, there can be numerous examples. We will cite only a few to substantiate our statements. Try to buy you wife a purse with matching shoes... Or go to the desert of children's shoes and clothing. Or try to find men's clothing size "L" (the largest). Or try to replace your kitchen table, which has been wobbling for a long time, with a plain one of the simplest kind, the kind with a little drawer. There are now certain items in the home people dote upon because they would be left with their hands tied if one of these items would break. An outrageous lack of common sense parades around vegetable stores. It, for example, they get red peppers, they are sold only in quantities of 10-15 kilograms, so lots of luck to you with your little shopping bag that hold only 2-3 kilograms. In Bulgaria, a classic bread country, you have to wait in very long lines in front of the bread stores. Let's not even talk about the excessively modest assortment. Yes, it is true. There can be many examples, and we as a magazine for the general reader will not stop dealing with them. We will try to get at the heart of the matter. Because the consumer industry is a strategic industry, but more about that later.

For now we do not want to miss mentioning the chaos resulting from the disorderly shelf stocking during the day (in the highly developed countries shelves are restocked at night). And what about the sign "Receiving stock" placed in the window every time the store is closed? In a certain sub-Balkan city I couldn't find the watchrepair shop, the notions shop, and the grocery shop nearest my apartment open for three weeks in a row. I wrote an angry satire ending with the mean joke that only the State Savings Bank works flawlessly, but to withdraw money there you must have first deposited

some. So I asked my friend the mayor to advise me to which newspaper to submit it. In reply he asked me to tear up my composition immediately because finding women and men to work as sales clerks is the most difficult thing in the city, so depressingly low are their salaries... The mayor is a serious person and was probably right, so I tore up my composition. But I ask: is it the fault of 20 thousand working people that 200 sales workers are unhappy with their salaries so they open and close the stores whenever they feel like it? Isn't the earning factor somewhat abused since it is well known that many employees act quite often more like owners than managers!

As you can see, the "vicious circle," about which we are often reminded from higher places, is closing again and we are left to circle its steep and slippery spirals. But the problem, as we all know, is not only manufacturing and supply. It is above a strategic problem. Because it places contemporary man's everyday reality, optimism and self esteem up against the wall. I am very interested to know what kind of feelings a salesman has when being served by another salesman just like him. Or whether the official, who easily discontinues production of a certain item because it is not profitable for his enterprise, is bothered when he himself greatly needs the item and cannot find it in the stores. It is quite obvious by now that things won't be straightened out just with fables, satires, and sentimental confessions. We started the article with poetry, but at the end we get a feeling that much more drastic measures are necessary [literally: we need "crude, homespun justice;" the text here refers to an expression used in "The Golden Calf" by Ilya Ilf and Yevgeniy Petrov]. Many of the basic problems and ways to solve them were noted in the editorial of RABOTNICHESKO DELO of 7 July 1986. Others have been known for a long time. It is simply amazing why we don't start working on their solution. The experiment with Boulevard "Vitosha," we believe, was successful (even though there's hardly another place in the world where electric streetcars speed along a pedestrian shopping mall). And then what? The streets previously named "Nishka" and "Pirotska" now called "Naycho Tsanov" and "Andrey Zhdanov," by tradition continue to be commercial, but their outside appearance and interior structure haven't changed in 30 years. Many so-called supermarket or general stores look beautiful only on the day of the grand opening. They lack a functional and aesthetic arrangement of goods. A foul odor comes from the meat and cold cuts counter. The window for milk products smell like an old dairy farm. As a rule there are always lines in front of the cash registers; this is not only a waste of work time but also a nerve-wrecking trauma of human self-esteem. What kind of a festive disposition can you have when on Sunday morning, after a three-hour search, you can't buy the Sunday paper!

No, these are not insignificant things! They are a common and urgent concern and a problem which must be solved without delay because, for example, the children start school on September 15, and while getting a sufficient number of desks delivered in February would be welcome, it would be quite ridiculous. And inconsistent. Inconsistent with both the nature and goals of our socialist society! Such are the problems which worry and will continue to worry our editorial staff. And we'll worry about them with a pen and a camera in hand.

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BALKANKAR OFFICIAL DISCUSSES NEW PRODUCT DEVELOPMENT

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 22 Oct 86 p 3

[Article by Lyudmil Totev: Economic Trust Balkankar A Leader in the International Market: Second in the World in the Manufacture of Industrial Trucks; The Future of Trucks Designed for Variable Terrain; One of the Most Comfortable and Elegant Soviet Automobiles "Moskvich-2141" To Be Manufactured Here; The Introduction of Electronics in Farm Equipment"]

Within the framework of CEMA [Council for Mutual Economic Assistance], our country has specialized in the manufacture of industrial trucks for decades. The socialist countries' continuously increasing need for this type of equipment has required and stimulated the rapid and stable development of transportation machinery construction here. Balkankar has rapidly reached the level of the largest firms for manufacture of hoisting and hauling vehicles. In 1984 Bulgaria got ahead of Japan and occupied second place after the USA in the manufacture of industrial trucks.

The entire production cycle of SO [economic trust] Balkankar is accomplished within the limits of our national economy. The fundamental goals set by the workers and specialists for the present and future 5-Year Plans are: to elevate the technological level and quality of the manufactured vehicles by rapid implementation of leading new technological methods; to maintain a leading place in the world in manufacturing and export of industrial trucks; to satisfy the demand in the domestic markets of the socialist countries in terms of quantity, quality and specifications of the trucks; and to supply our domestic transportation sector with cargo trucks, buses and trolley cars and our country with farm machinery.

The director general on technological policy of SO Balkankar, engineer Nikolay Gerov, told us:

When a firm wishes to maintain its reputation and be among the leaders, it must produce everything needed by its clients. It means thinking ahead for a timely introduction of new types of design corresponding to the demands of the world market.

Proof of the ambitions and capabilities of our leading complex is the fact that it is now accomplishing a breakthrough in the field of implementation and application of industrial trucks with large carrying capacity adapted for variable terrain. Industrial trucks are primarily designated for work on a

flat terrain. With the introduction of industrial trucks for variable terrain their consumer value is increased and therefore the demand for them increases not only in the domestic market, but also abroad. The manufacturing of industrial trucks for difficult terrain is being developed in two aspects: fixed and hinged frame. The vehicles with hinged frame structures will be introduced with two types of carrying capacity: 2-3 tons and 4-5 tons. The hinged frame structure significantly increases the maneuverability of the vehicle, its ability to overcome transverse and longitudinal slopes, and it is convenient to use. It permits the machine to be equipped with different interchangeable devices which make it universally applicable. The manufacture of this type of vehicles will begin during the period 1987-1989.

Industrial trucks with fixed frames are assembled basically as units, a process which is used in our manufacture of cargo handling machines; these are the so-called motor controlled hoists. They will have a carrying capacity from 3 to 4.5 tons. Their development is also at an advanced stage and production will be mounted in the plant's workshops during 1988-1989.

The machine for light excavation and construction work, the so-called small motorized loader is new at the industrial complex. The experimental model units have been built and their mass production will begin next year.

If a machine is to compete with similar ones on the international market, besides being versatile and adaptable for variable terrain, it must also be highly efficient and have a high carrying capacity. The traditional industrial truck can carry up to 4-tons loads. Recently mass production of machines of the family "Rekord-3" with a carrying capacity of 8 tons was started and the manufacture of a new generation of industrial trucks with a carrying capacity of up to 12.5 tons will soon be started. The development of heavy-duty motor driven trucks for processing containers of up to 40 tons is expected in the plans of economic trust Balkankar.

Until recently computerization of transport machinery was limited to regulating the velocity of movement and pickup by built-in thyristor impulse-generating devices. Electronics now has been introduced and is commonly used in processes related to diagnostics, work schedules, occupational safety, etc. By the end of this 5-Year Plan and by the year 2000 it will be used in several principal directions: the development of wheeled robots, new families of computerized industrial trucks with built-in electronic systems and modules, and the production of cargo trucks, buses, and trolley cars with built-in electronic system and modules.

Buses and trolley cars needed domestically are produced in economic trust Balkankar. The tendency here is to renew within the limits of the 5-Year Plan the entire manufacturing process of buses and to increase their variety with 7m, 17m, and 11m flexible city and intercity buses and flexible trolley cars. They will be distinguished by a new design for a better interior and passenger comfort.

Economic trust Balkankar also manufactures cargo trucks in collaboration with the socialist countries. Besides this, it has already entered contract

negotiations with the manufacturers of one of the most modern luxury Soviet cars, Moskvich-2141.

The manufacture of farm machinery and equipment is also developed in the firm's subdivisions. Of interest are the combined soil-processing machinery and the new seeder which allows seeds to be planted immediately following crop harvest without any prior soil preparation. Tractors for variable terrain equipped with all types of devices necessary for mountain farming are being tested. The manufacture of a gasoline engine with a motor of 6-8 horse power is already being implemented to fulfill the needs of our agricultural sectors with limited mechanization. It will be possible to use it with 28 types of machines, such as machines for wood cutting, hayforks, pump attachments, trailers, and others. Electronic system and elements of robotics will be built in farm machinery which will help automate the heavy manual labor in farming to a maximum level.

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MITTAG COMMENTS ON ECONOMIC BILLS BEFORE PEOPLE'S CHAMBER

LD282106 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1251 GMT 27 Nov 86

["SED Parliamentary Group Approves Bills--From the Speech by Deputy Guenter Mittag"--ADN headline]

[Text] Berlin, 27 Nov (ADN)--The SED parliamentary group unreservedly approves the bills presented on the 5-year plan for the development of the national economy of the GDR in the years 1986-90 and on the 1987 National Economic Plan and the State Budget Plan, Guenter Mittag said.

The objectives contained in these documents are directed at rigorously implementing the decisions of the 11th SED Congress. This means that the path which for over a decade and a half has determined the development of the GDR and which meets with the full agreement of the people is being continued.

There are good prospects for every citizen, the speaker went on to say. Freedom, human dignity, social security and equality before the law in the GDR are assured today and in the future for everyone.

The GDR has continued to develop as a modern socialist industrial state with a productive agriculture and a highly developed educational system. It has a flexible system of socialist planned economy which functions well.

Guenter Mittag pointed out that in the GDR--in accordance with the spirit of socialism--economic results lead to social progress, to social security and to a high living standard for the people. This policy accords most deeply with the interests of the working class, the cooperative peasants, the intelligentsia, the craftsmen and tradespeople, young people and veterans of labor. This has shown itself precisely in the preparation of the plan tasks, which have been considered in a broad public discussion. Mittag reported that 6.1 million working people took part in this. He added: That is socialist democracy in action.

In all its planning the GDR could rely on firm agreements on the deepening of socialist economic integration. The economic and scientific and technological cooperation with the USSR remains a decisive guarantee for the stable development of the GDR's national economy.

The agreement reached for the development of direct relations between concerns and research institutions in the GDR and their partners in the USSR are aimed at promoting the further expansion of cooperation in science and production organized according to the yardsticks of the highest efficiency, the deputy said. This applies equally to the agreements on the forming of joint collectives involving specialists from the two countries.

The decisions of the 11th SED Congress have introduced a qualitatively new stage in the shaping of the developed socialist society in the GDR, the speaker went on to say. The content of the economic strategy with a view to the year 2000 is in line with this. In agreement with this, the bills presented are aimed at ensuring in unit consumption of raw materials and materials and energy sources, and at reducing the proportion of production consumption in the total product.

This new quality of economic growth could only be achieved by the broad application of key technologies. Solid material and intellectual preconditions for this have been created in a new way. Bringing the extensive application of microelectronics and organizing the necessary scientific services and the production for this is of fundamental significance.

The extensive introduction of microelectronics into decisive technological processes make it possible to increase productivity and the capacity to react in the consumer goods industry, in supplying the population and also for export. Here it is necessary to take every step which guarantees the course of the unity of economic and social policy today and beyond today at every point in the future, Mittag said.

In the use of science and technology, we allow ourselves to be guided generally by the highest economic standards, the deputy stated. It is necessary to go beyond what was known until now if the highest positions are to be achieved. This is realistic, and at the same time necessary in the interest of further continual growth and progress in all fields of social development, for what has been achieved is not yet the same as what can be achieved.

Guenter Mittag referred to the unambiguous view that technology demands creative, active cooperation in thought and action, more than ever before. "In socialism, modern high technology is not introduced over the head of the working man, but rather only with him and through him."

High targets of economic and social development were set by the draft laws before the chamber on the 5-year plan and the economic plan. The 11th SED Congress answered the question as to how the advantages of socialism would be made effective in accordance with these higher requirements.

The economic self-accountability of the combines would be built up and increased on the basis of the plan--particularly in the field of science and technology. They would decide autonomously on about 90 percent of the total number of research and development tasks, and on about 80 percent of the financial resources for science and technology.

Connected with greater self-responsibility on the part of the combines is the principle of self-financing of investments in important fields. Qualitatively new steps will be taken in the building up of the economic responsibility of the combines. The strengthening of cooperative ownership in agriculture would also take place in this way.

In the future, too, production cooperatives for craftsmen, private artisans, tradespeople and retailers will be an inseparable component of the national economy. Crafts and trades have great tasks and a secure future in the GDR.

Finally, Guenter Mittag referred to the fact that the GDR would, in future as well, make its active contribution to the joint peace policy of the socialist community. The foreign policy activity of the GDR has received very strong impetus from the proposals which Mikhail Gorbachev put forward at Reykjavik and which correspond to the most essential interests of mankind.

The strengthening of socialism and the securing of peace was also served by Erich Honecker's trip to the DPRK, the PRC and the Mongolian People's Republic. As a result of the friendship visit to the PRC, nothing less than a new chapter was opened up in relations between our parties, states and peoples, Guenter Mittag stated.

/6091

CSO: 2300/102

BRIEFS

TRADE PROTOCOL WITH DENMARK--On 13 November the 10th session of the mixed commission on the basis of the long-term government agreement on economic, industrial, and technical cooperation between the GDR and Denmark was concluded in Copenhagen. The two sides noted in the discussion that a dynamic development in mutual commodity exchange was achieved in selected fields since the last session. A joint protocol for 1987 was signed, which envisages trade promotion measures and intensified cooperation between companies of the two countries on third markets. The GDR delegation was led by Siebold Kirsten, director general in the Foreign Trade Ministry, and the Danish delegation by Arne Christiansen, chairman of the Committee for Economic, Industrial, and Technical Cooperation With Foreign Countries at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. [Summary] [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 14 Nov 86 p 2 AU] /6091

RIESA SEAMLESS PIPE PRODUCTION--An innovation in refining steel processing used in the Riesa Pipe Combine will mean a tenfold increase in productivity. For the first time seamless precision pipes are being manufactured on a large-scale testing facility by continuous cold-rolling at the Riesa Combine. That revolutionary technical solution was discovered by GDR metallurgists and Soviet specialists. More than 2 dozen inventions were applied to the procedure. Riesa Combine, which supplies 80 percent of the GDR's production of seamless pipes, will be able to much more than double its production of such pipes within 2 years. [Excerpts] [East Berlin GDR Domestic Service in German 0900 GMT 3 Sep 86 DW] /6091

CSO: 2300/102

ECONOMISTS MEET U.S. CONGRESS BUREAU DIRECTOR

AU131433 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 5 Nov 86 p 2

[Text] Professor John P. Hardt, director of the U.S. Congress Bureau for Economic Analysis and Expertise [name and title as received] and an outstanding specialist on foreign policy vis-a-vis socialist states, met with a group of Polish economists in Warsaw on 4 November.

He dealt with prospects for the expansion of economic relations between Poland and the United States. In the professor's opinion, there are still various obstacles in the way of restoring profitable bilateral cooperation. These obstacles cannot be surmounted by one-shot decisions but by way of process of positive changes that also takes into account the debt problem.

Professor Hardt said that success will depend, inter alia, on the effectiveness of the implementation of Poland's economic strategy (particularly the reform) and on accelerating the expansion of Poland's export capacity. During the discussion, attention was drawn to the fact that American restrictions are having a negative effect on the development of the Polish economy. It was stressed that there was a need to take a sound view of Poland's debt problem.

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CSO: 2600/188

PLANNING OFFICIAL ON MEASURES FOR INCREASED CEMA INTEGRATION

AU260950 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 22-23 Nov 86 p 3

[Interview given by Minister Stanislaw Dlugosz, deputy chairman of the Planning Commission, to Henryk Chadzynski: "CEMA's Accelerated Integration"---date and place not given]

[Excerpts] [Chadzynski] The 42d CEMA session in Budapest and the Moscow meeting of leaders of the CEMA countries stressed the need to accelerate CEMA integration and to improve CEMA cooperation. Why this urgent need?

[Dlugosz] A number of factors stemming from CEMA's new realities and several external factors are behind this need and are responsible for the fact that our countries must accept and have accepted the challenge of development. That is why we must improve the mechanisms of socialist integration, including CEMA activities.

[Chadzynski] How do you appraise the present forms and instruments of the integration of CEMA countries?

[Dlugosz] I have discussed this issue many times and that is why my answer will be brief. I think that the mechanisms of socialist economic integration have passed their test at a certain stage of our community's development, a stage that should be regarded as closed. The new stage calls for qualitative changes in the mechanisms, forms, and methods of cooperation.

[Chadzynski] What should be the crux of improvements in integration mechanisms?

[Dlugosz] Since we plan to achieve a higher stage of economic integration we must switch from the forms and methods of cooperation in trade to extensive integration of production and scientific research. Setting up joint enterprises within our community is an example of this. In the case of Poland this is no longer a future venture. We are already in it as attested to by the 15 October accord with the USSR on the principles of joint enterprises and organizations in our two countries. We are continuing talks in this connection with other CEMA countries. This is a crucial, but not the only example. Direct cooperation among industrial enterprises and research and development units is becoming an increasingly important feature of integration. The decisions that were made in the USSR last August to extensively commit the potential of the Soviet economy to direct cooperation with the socialist countries are of great importance for the development of these forms of socialist integration.

I think that a more extensive development of this cooperation on bilateral and multilateral terms will help promote efficiency and, which is most important, will create truly favorable opportunities for transfers of modern technologies. I also think that our community must be more consistent in implementing the decisions made by the 41st CEMA session on extensive scientific-technological progress. Third, it is necessary to agree that the coordination of socioeconomic plans is a crucial mechanism of our integration, provided qualitative changes are made in the present procedures.

[Chadzynski] The new stage of integration calls not only for improvements in planning, but also for economic mechanisms conducive to effective cooperation. What should be done in this regard?

[Dlugosz] Two basic measures, which will determine the effectiveness of the new approach to the process of socialist integration, should be taken. I have in mind the convertibility of the transfer ruble and national currencies, which is the primary issue. The second issue is to harmonize the instruments of the planning and running of our economies at least in the sphere that is concerned with broadly conceived cooperation with foreign countries. My postulates are nothing new. These issues were included in the comprehensive program for intensifying socialist integrity that was adopted in Bucharest in 1971, but that could not have been implemented. Perhaps these projects were too ambitious for those times, a fact that we must also bear in mind now when we are trying to solve these problems once again. These instruments are very delicate and sensitive from the viewpoint of economics and of the interests of every CEMA country. It has been stressed that in contrast to the capitalist countries, our integration is international and not supranational and that is why solving the problems in question can be effected by stages and on the principles of ever increasing consensus. We can also view all these issues so as to assume that the new joint forms of the integration of science, production, and trade will be elements of the development of those sphere that determine the future.

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CSO: 2600/188

FINANCE MINISTER PRESENTS DRAFT BUDGET LAW

LD241411 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 24 Nov 86

[Text] The 2-day session of the Sejm began at 1000 hours today. Wojciech Jaruzelski and Zbigniew Messner are present in the hall where the debates are to be held. This session is being chaired by Sejm Speaker Roman Malinowski.

In the first point on the agenda Finance Minister Bazyli Samojlik presented a draft budget law and draft resolutions on the balance of payments, the fund for servicing foreign debt and a list of commodities and services on which official prices are fixed.

For the last 7 years, he stated, there has been an imbalance in the budget. Debts have reached 600 billion zlotys, and the reason for this was the rise in subsidies. The aim of the financial policy becomes the shaping of financial and price mechanisms which will favor the enforcement of management efficiency. For the first time since 1981, stated Minister Samojlik, the government is presenting a draft balanced budget.

Speaking on the policy of taxes toward the economy of the non-socialist population, the finance minister announced the diminution of the tax progression, the renouncement of highly-criticized tax arrangements at the time of flat-exchanges, and the application of allowances and exemptions for those areas of production and services which are given preference. The sum free of equalization tax is to be raised.

Bazyli Samojlik drew attention in his speech to the planned rise of indebtedness to socialist countries--6.7 billion transfer rubles this year, to 7.2 billion transfer rubles next year. He also pointed out that the crediting of part of the supplies, mainly from the Soviet Union, is an expression of help for our economy. We aim to achieve a surplus of export receipts over import outgoings with capitalist countries of about \$1 billion. However, this will not be sufficient to fully pay off the interest debt. The debt will rise next year to \$35 billion. The finance minister stressed that for the past few years, Poland has made a significant effort to cope with its responsibilities and to normalize relations with Western creditors.

The finance minister concluded his speech by submitting a motion to adopt the proposed law and the resolutions which accompany it.

After Minister Samojlik's statement, the floor was taken by Wladyslaw Baka, chairman of the Polish National Bank.

He presented draft resolutions on credit plans, on the assumptions of a money-credit policy and on a balance sheet of the population's incomes and expenditures.

A plenary discussion then began.

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CSO: 2600/188

DETAILS OF SAMOJLIK SPEECH ON BUDGET REPORTED

LD241620 Warsaw PAP in English 1415 GMT 24 Nov 86

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 24--A budgetary imbalance has persisted for seven years now. In effect, the central budget has run into a 600 billion zloty debt. We expect that the year 1986 will also close with a central budget deficit of 150 billion zlotys, or about three per cent of the spending, a level provided for in the budget law.

The share of subsidies and extra financial support within the total state budget expenditure has remained very high since 1982 reaching 30 per cent now. No improvement is expected here this year. The planned size of the subsidies will be surpassed by about 220 billion zlotys. The over-plan subsidies to goods and services which are purchased by the population will go up by nearly 25 per cent, while this year's subsidies to coal are to go beyond the planned figures by over 60 billion zlotys, which means almost 29 per cent.

As for retail prices, we recorded an increase of 22 per cent in 1983, of 15 per cent twice in 1984 and 1985, and we expect them to grow by some 17-18 per cent this year. This scale of inflation arouses an understandable irritation on the part of society. It is also a serious economic problem. It weakens motivation to rational management in enterprises or to economy at home, and boosts the rarely justified attitudes of a demand-reclaim type. For these reasons the 10th PUWP Congress recognized the problem of curbing inflation as a priority task.

The assessment of the topical trends in the financial situation, the definition of the sources of the observed tension and difficulties have served as a starting point for the formulation of a general concept of the state financial policy in the years 1987-1990.

The financial policy while having its own autonomous goals, secures the realization of the tasks of national socio-economic plan.

The most important and the most difficult of its tasks is also to shape the financial and price instruments and mechanisms so as to create conditions for reaching half of the planned increase of the national income through improved efficiency of management.

The second objective is the stabilization of the financial solutions for the years to come. We plan to preserve the binding rate of the income tax and under favourable economic conditions to reduce enterprises' payments in this virtue.

Thirdly, we want to expand the arena in which prices properly fulfill their functions. We intend to limit the scope of the costly prices formula in favour of contractual prices, matching the real supply-and-demand relations.

At the same time we want to maintain a limited scope of the administration's interference in the process of price-making wherever it will be necessary to protect the consumer or the buyer for social or economic reasons.

Fourth, budget subsidies will be limited. We assess that by the year 1990, it is possible to reduce the real value of subsidies by half or even by 75 per cent.

These assumptions and lines of financial and price policy were taken into account in the draft budget for the year 1987. For the first time since 1981, the government will submit to the Sejm a balanced budget.

In the 1987, enterprises will go under harder pressure to economize. It is assumed that the valid tasks in economizing will be kept in force in relation to all units of the budget sphere.

It is planned that the growth of prices caused by price hikes after January 1, 1987, will be lower by some 1.5 points.

The share of budget outlays in the national income calculated in current prices shows a slight decline. The proportion of subsidies in the whole of budget spending decreases by more than four points. Still however, the states budget remains strained both on the assets and liabilities sides.

While encouraging legal economic activities by the instrument of taxation, we are at the same time going to be more efficient in the control of concealing incomes, profiteering, and failures to pay taxes.

The payment situation has a substantial impact on national economy, which is illustrated by the draft plan of the state's balance of payments for 1987 submitted to the high chamber together with a plan of the foreign debt servicing fund.

The monetary area of socialist countries shows a steady growth in the turnovers of commodities and services. The planned export-generated incomes and the expenses for imports will be exceeded. The 1987 plan provides for a seven per cent growth in exports, and over four per cent in imports. Exports are expected to reach 10.9 billion transfer roubles, and imports 11.4 billion transfer roubles.

Like in the previous years, the value of Polish imports in 1987, calculated in roubles, will be higher than the exports-generated incomes, and the debt in socialist countries will grow from the sum of 6.4 billion transfer roubles, as was planned for this year, up to 7.2 billion transfer roubles in 1987.

As for the financial relations with capitalist countries, the year 1987, like the last and previous years, will see continuation of the complex situation.

The trade turnover plan for next year provides for incomes obtained from exports at the level of 6.2 billion U.S. dollars and payouts for imports reaching 5.2 billion U.S. dollars. The surplus (exports over imports) will be of about one billion U.S. dollars, that is, it will be close to the result expected this year.

Services and money transfers will be another item in the payment balance plan that will show a considerable surplus of incomes over outlays in the next year. A surplus in these turnovers will, expectedly, reach 0.6 billion U.S. dollars.

Poland has made considerable efforts for several years now to live up to its liabilities towards its Western creditors by way of maintaining a surplus in trade turnovers. But considering the scale of the debt and the relatively high interest rates, we will lack sufficient means necessary to fully pay the interest. That remainder unpaid throughout the next year will add to the debt. Estimates say that by the end of 1987 it will have gone beyond 35 billion dollars, Samojlik said.

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CSO: 2020/28

SCHOLAR OFFERS VIEWS ON DEBT PROBLEM, EXPORTS

AU011533 Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 28-30 Nov 86 p 6

[Interview with Professor Stanislaw Raczkowski by Marek Matusiak: "How Can Credit Confidence Be Restored"--date and place not given]

[Text] [Matusiak] You are one of the coauthors of a report on Poland's debts. Therefore, it comes as no surprise that I would like to devote our conversation to a discussion of these problems. However, let us begin with some information about facts: To what extent is Poland in debt?

[Raczkowski] According to the situation that obtained at the end of June of this year--this was recorded in our report--Poland's foreign debt amounted to 5.6 billion transferable rubles and approximately \$31.3 billion.

[Matusiak] Let us perhaps concentrate on the free exchange currency debt. Why did you use the expression "approximately?"

[Raczkowski] It must be borne in mind that we took up credits from banks in many countries and, thus, these amounts are expressed in a variety of currencies. As exchange rates continually fluctuate, reducing this figure to a common financial denominator is, if not lacking in precision, a process that does not provide stability. As a rule, it is accepted that the amount is designated in U.S. dollars, although in our case dollars account for about half of our engagements. In addition, this figure is primarily of statistical significance, because we will repay our credits in the currencies in which they were paid.

[Matusiak] In any case, over the last 15 years we really have plunged into debt when one considers that the debt amounted to barely \$1.2 billion in 1971.

[Raczkowski] That is true. But--and this is mentioned in the report--the level of debt is not the same as the amount of credits that have been borrowed, although they are frequently treated as one and the same thing. The implication is that we lived on credits for a long time without bothering to repay our debts. But this was not the case. During the years 1971-81 we repaid \$21.8 billion in capital payments and paid \$10.2 billion in capital repayments and \$6.5 billion in interest payments. Altogether, it is simple to calculate, we paid \$16.7 billion in interest changes.

In other words, on the one hand, one of the causes of the growing debt is the mechanism for determining interest rates and, on the other hand, our inability to fully meet annual payments obligations, which has been the situation for several years now.

[Matusiak] We will return to this subject in a moment. Objectively, \$31 billion is an enormous sum.

[Raczkowski] To assert that is to exaggerate things somewhat. Besides, most indexes confirm the truth of what I have said. For example, if we were to compare the size of debt with the level of national income, we would find it amounted to 47 percent in the case of Poland. In a great many other countries, and not only Latin American countries, debt levels amount to as much as 70 or even 90 percent of national income.

Also, expressed in per capita terms, the level of debt amounts to \$785 in Poland, whereas the figure for Hungary and Yugoslavia is between \$800 and \$900, and in a dozen or so other countries it significantly exceeds \$1,000.

However, the situation looks rather worse when the size of the debt is viewed in terms of annual payments for exports. The index for Poland is 550 percent. This means all the income derived from exports over a period of 5.5 years would have to be designated for debt repayment in order to pay off our debts completely. This index differs significantly from the indices for other socialist states that are in debt.

[Matusiak] Thus, what is important is not so much the size of the debt but the potential to pay it off quickly.

[Raczkowski] Of course. Our difficulties do not stem from the size of our debt but from insufficient export earnings. It is quite simply a tragedy! In 1984, which was better than last year, free exchange currency earnings from exports amounted to barely \$163 per inhabitant, whereas the figure for Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Romania, or Bulgaria was about more than twice as high, and the figure for the GDR was more than three times higher.

This is why the current excess of exports over imports does not make it possible to pay the interest charges owed our creditors.

[Matusiak] This suggests that we must sink further into debt.

[Raczkowski] We certainly cannot permit this to happen! We must do the very opposite. We must, as quickly as possible, take steps to significantly boost exports. It must be remembered that the latest payments extension period will shortly expire, which means that annual interest charges will rise. We must create a situation that will enable us to meet these obligations. It would be sufficient to increase exports by between \$1.2 billion and \$1.3 billion.

[Matusiak] At first glance this does not seem like a lot but the figure represents an increase of 20 percent over the current value of export earnings.

[Raczkowski] Nevertheless, I maintain that it is possible to achieve such an increase. Put another way: The Polish economy's potential export capacity is significantly higher--why, at the end of the seventies Poland's free exchange currency earnings from exports amounted to \$8 billion.

[Matusiak] What needs to be done to restore this level?

[Raczkowski] Above all, the economy must acquire an export-oriented character. At all costs. The Export Development Bank can assist in this on condition, however, that foreign currency credits are obtained.

It is not possible to go into all the steps that can be taken to boost exports but I would like to draw attention to two such measures. First, there definitely ought to be a liberalization of access to foreign markets. The Ministry of Foreign Trade does provide concessions for conducting foreign trade, but this is done reluctantly--yet small producers must be activated. I see the stepping up of agricultural and foodstuff exports as providing another opportunity to quickly raise foreign currency earnings. Already, export and import levels are almost the same in this area--until recently imports significantly exceeded exports--there is no doubt that we still have not exploited all the opportunities that exist for placing our goods on foreign markets.

[Matusiak] So far we have talked about domestic factors affecting the restoration of our exports. What about external factors?

[Raczkowski] It would probably be impossible to recover the 8 billion level of foreign currency earnings without the restoration of most favored nation status, which could result in a twofold increase in our exports to the United States. There would probably also have to be an end to certain protectionist practices engaged in by other countries, which bar Polish goods from their markets (the existence of clothing quotas and quotas on iron and steel industry products).

But that is not the most important matter. What is of greatest importance--even for a lesser increase in exports--is access to new credits that would finance imports of raw and other materials for export-oriented production, but unfortunately access to such credits is still blocked.

[Matusiak] But we are members of the International Monetary Fund.

[Raczkowski] Therefore, we can in theory apply for credits but it too is not a cash desk that dispenses relief aid but a fund composed of 151 countries that provides medium-term credits for a period of 3-5 years or, less often, for 10 years. This is on condition that they accept our program for extricating ourselves from our payments difficulties.

[Matusiak] How much could we obtain from the fund?

[Raczkowski] As much as between 3 and 3.5 billion according to the statute, but between 1 and 2 billion in practice. This is not a striking amount but it must be viewed alongside possible credits from the World Bank. It provides long-term investment credits for 10 and even 2--year[as printed] periods but, of course, also on condition that a program is formulated for putting our economy in order. One could expect a credit of the order of 2 billion from this source and that would have a strong bolstering effect on our economy.

But, of course, that is not enough. If we ourselves do not make an effort, then no one will assist us. We will have to prove to these organizations that we are capable, over a reasonable period of time, of increasing our economy's export capacity and, by doing so, of fully meeting our payments obligations. It will not be possible to do this without making sacrifices.

[Matusiak] Would this place a significant burden on society because, after all, these sacrifices entail limiting the possible growth of consumption and curtailing the resolution of important social problems. It is perhaps pertinent to ask whether society will bear such a burden?

[Raczkowski] We cannot meet payments whatever the cost because, for example, imports of the order of \$5 billion are essential for the proper functioning of the economy and this figure cannot possibly be lowered. Thus, we can only meet payments when exports exceed this amount. Will we be able to bear this? We will have to. This is because first, no one will free us from the obligation of having to repay debts and second, the sooner we start doing this the less we will have to pay. Of course, this does not mean that we should stop negotiating interest rates or renegotiating repayment conditions.

[Matusiak] When can we expect to get on an even keel?

[Raczkowski] This depends on too many variable factors to be able to give precise dates. However, one thing is certain: In order to recover credibility as an economic partner we must, over the course of 3 or 4 years, create a situation in which we will be able to meet all our annual interest charges. This is realistic on condition, however, that we obtain a higher increase in exports than that envisaged in the draft National Socioeconomic Plan for the years 1986-90.

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CSO: 2600/188

BRIEFS

DEPUTY TRADE MINISTER RECALLED--Warsaw, Nov 15--Acting on the motion of the Foreign Trade Minister, Poland's Prime Minister recalled today Ryszard Strzelecki from the post of the undersecretary of state at the Ministry of Foreign Trade in connection with his entering diplomatic service. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 1654 GMT 15 Nov 86] /8309

WOJCIK MEETS ENVOYS--Warsaw, Nov 20--Polish Foreign Trade Minister Andrzej Wojcik today received the ambassador of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, Abdol Qadar, and the ambassador of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Ivan Prymov, on the occasion of their taking over diplomatic posts in Poland. On the same day Minister Wojcik discussed issues of economic cooperation and trade with Finnish ambassador Olavi Rautio. Andrzej Wojcik today also received the general manager of the Rhone-Poulenc SA, Maurice Mallet, and held talks with him concerning the current and future cooperation in the field of chemical goods between the company and Poland. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 2005 GMT 20 Nov 86] /8309

CEMA NUCLEAR POWER COMMISSION--Warsaw, Nov 26--Prime Minister Zbigniew Messner received today chairmen of CEMA countries' delegations for the 15th session of the commission for cooperation in production and mutual supplies of installations for nuclear power plants with the first vice-chairman of the Soviet Council of Ministers I.S. Silayev. At the meeting, the Polish premier was briefed on the hitherto work of the commission which had reviewed the state of implementation of commitments ensuing from the agreement on production and supplies of installations for nuclear power plants in 1986 and had specified the details of the plan of mutual supplies for the next year. The commission also dealt with the safety of nuclear power plants. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 2204 GMT 26 Nov 86] /8309

PLANNING COMMISSION CHANGE--Edward Lukosz has been recalled from the post of deputy chairman of the Planning Commission at the Council of Ministers, in connection with his move to the diplomatic service. [Text] [Warsaw PAP Maritime Press Service in Polish 1200 GMT 25 Nov 86] /8309

CSO: 2600/188

ZENICA CITIZENS SEEK COURT RULING ON POLLUTION

Belgrade PRIVREDNI PREGLED in Serbo-Croatian 6 Nov 86 p 2

[Excerpt] An indictment, unusual for us, signed by 103 inhabitants of the Tetovo suburb of Zenica has been sent to the Zenica Opstina court accusing the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, the Zenica Opstina Assembly, and the Fund for Protection and Development of the Environment of being responsible for not regularly controlling the industrial complex of ironworks and brown coal mines which are polluting their environment. At the top of the list of those accused are the Zenica Minisg and Metallurgical Combine, the Ironworks, the Zenica Brown Coal Mines, the "Komrad" communal work organization in Zenica, and about 10 OOURs [basic organizations of associated labor].

The inhabitants of Tetovo say that their continued existence under such conditions of pollution is impossible. Housing and other facilities have been destroyed, and they no longer have any benefit from their land, fruit, and other agricultural property. They are seeking compensation for damages amounting to about 1.545 million dinars to help them build housing elsewhere.

This is the first court dispute of this kind in the last 100 years during which iron and steel has been produced and coal mined here.

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CSO: 2800/70

HIGH DEBTS OF SMEDEREVO METALLURGICAL COMBINE

Belgrade PRIVREDNI PREGLED in Serbo-Croatian 19 Nov 86 p 8

[Article by B. Djurovic: "Debts Are Cooling Off the Steel"]

[Text] With an external debt of \$1.4 billion and a domestic debt of 89.5 billion dinars, the Smederevo Metallurgical Combine (MKS) is one of the most indebted organizations in the country. Financial consolidation of the combine means pooling resources for social reproduction of OOUR's at the level of 0.469 percent of the social product.

All necessary measures need to be taken with urgency so that the capacities built for the production of iron, steel, rolled strip and sheet are utilized to the extent projected and qualitative factors of conducting business improved at the same time in order to guarantee better supply to consumers, larger income, and opportunities for more successful discharge of obligations under credits used to build the facilities. This is one of the essential conclusions of the newly formed coordinating body of the Economic Chamber of Serbia for monitoring progress in construction and economic and financial consolidation of the Smederevo Metallurgical Combine, which in its first meeting examined the problems in development of this giant of ferrous metallurgy.

The recent fire, it was stated in the discussion, slowed down completion of projects under construction and disabled the completed facilities of the cold-rolling mill, which inflicted an immense financial loss. In any case, about 100 work organizations from throughout the country are engaged in building the combine, and the value of work, equipment, and services amounts to 40 billion dinars.

In the newly built facilities and those already begun and envisaged by the revised program, the MKS will in 1989 be able to produce 1.3 million tons of raw white steel a year, 1.3 million tons of L-D steel, 1.4 million tons of hot-rolled strip and sheet, and 800,000 tons of cold-rolled sheet. The facilities already built and those being completed have all the characteristics of up-to-date technological development in the world.

Most of the resources to build the combine were furnished by borrowing abroad (70 percent), so that with its external debt (repayment of principal and interest) of \$1.4 billion and domestic debt of 89.5 billion dinars, the MKS is

among the most deeply indebted organizations in the country. That is why it is absolutely necessary that the projects under construction be activated as soon as possible.

Specialists say that with certain modernization of facilities completed earlier and if the revised program is carried out, it is possible to achieve a product mix and product quality which will be competitive with present-day production in the world at large and within the country and will constitute an important financial basis for developing the technology and output of the Yugoslav economy and for substitution of imports, especially in the metal manufacturing complex.

It should be pointed out that the Social Plan of SR Serbia up to the Year 1990 contains the commitment "to continue the construction and economic and financial consolidation of the MKS according to the revised program and to equip it for more successful business performance." It has accordingly been provided that OUR's must pool resources for social reproduction to consolidate the combine in the amount of 0.469 percent of the social product in the current medium-term period.

7045

CS0: 2800/63

RAVNE IRONWORKS APPLIES NEW SYSTEM OF INCOME DISTRIBUTION

Belgrade PRIVREDNI PREGLED in Serbo-Croatian 21 Nov 86 p 4

[Article by Lidija Cocaj: "Past Labor Even for Retirees"]

[Text] Not only those presently employed, but also retirees will begin to receive past labor beginning next year at the Ravne Steel Mill. This is only one of the innovations in the system of distribution of personal incomes and social service expenditure which took effect at the steel mill this August. There is another distinctive feature of this regulation that is worth mentioning, one that is almost out of the ordinary for Slovenia: it is one of the rare regulations which represents an advancement of distribution according to labor and the results of labor, but which has passed a referendum. To be sure, a sampling of opinion was first taken in a poll on whether it should go to a referendum or not, and the results were quite satisfactory--60 percent of the workers favored the referendum.

This system of distribution, more precisely, this procedure for determination of the allowed amount of resources for personal incomes, applies both to the steel mill and the other organizations belonging to the Slovenian Steel Mills SOUR and indeed throughout the industry of ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy in Slovenia. The analytical evaluation of work and of special working conditions applies only to the steel mill, and it represents the highest percentage of the personal income, with the personal contribution in second place. Length of service in general and within the organization have remained in the system of distribution, but not in the form of past labor. At the steel mill they are already...[piece of type missing in original]...if the ratio of that income to standard net income is unity, then both personal incomes and social service expenditure are, as we say, normal (necessary, planned). The higher the ratio, the larger these two items will be, and conversely, when the ratio falls below unity, they are reduced by that much. Normal personal incomes depend on the average for the economy and increase according to the requirements of the job, the severity of the working conditions, according to the shift that is worked.... But minimum accumulation is a prior condition for all that.

The workers at the steel mill have been classified in eight categories according to their schooling and the jobs they do, but the categories in turn have levels of development. In fact close attention is paid at the steel mill to knowledge and improved performance on the job. This is increasingly necessary

since a third of the labor force has the lowest specialized training. That is why any newly acquired knowledge or skill, obtained through courses which are followed by tests, also means a higher personal income. Provision has even been made for the writing of papers. Beginning next year 3-month seminars will be organized for skilled workers so that they can acquire new knowledge and refresh old knowledge.

In the Foreseeable Future Group Quotas

Past labor computed according to the new procedure will begin to be paid in 1987, and the elements for its computation are the performance of the work organization and the number of points earned by each individual worker. The organization's performance depends on the net income, and if the ratio is below unity, then there is no past labor, but when it is higher than unity, for example, 1.05, then it is possible to get 55 percent of a monthly personal income, which on the basis of current earnings is 68,300 dinars. Retirees with a length of service of 40 years (men) or 35 years (women) are entitled to past labor for 6 years after they retire. The first year they retire they receive a monthly personal income.

This system of distribution, it is felt by those who work at the Ravne Steel Mill, makes it possible for all those who have knowledge and skill and want to work to improve their income, and at present they do not see any reason to change anything, nor even to apply the system of two-part personal income.

In response to a question as to how much the trade union participated in drafting this regulation, since it was done by a staff service, Ivan Zagar, member of the business board of the steel mill, and Filip Rozanc said that the trade union is not there to offer concrete specialized solutions. The staff services would have taken the responsibility if the referendum had not passed, not the trade union nor the League of Communists. At the time when the regulation was being prepared there was talk about dilemmas over whether individual quotas should be retained. Many people asked whether it was justified to have individual quotas, since then everyone would be concerned only about himself, and others would be of no interest to him at all. It even goes to the point of people not even wanting to turn out a light which is burning unnecessarily, since that is not part of their duties. The transition to group quotas will probably be made at the steel mill at some time in the foreseeable future.

7045

CSO: 2800/63

ROMANIA REBUKED FOR LIMITING HUNGARIAN PRESS IN TRANSYLVANIA

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 3 Nov 86 p 3

[Article by Andras Banki: "Reciprocity"]

[Text] Our compatriots who have visited Transylvania bring the news that it is difficult to obtain Hungarian newspapers there and our Hungarian relatives and acquaintances living there make mention of this fact. We call attention to it ourselves because we Hungarians would like it if our country and Romania achieved development in the mutual distribution of each other's publications. We make efforts so that the obstacles in the way of creating the conditions of obtaining papers be removed and the principle of reciprocity be enforced.

Answering a question at his latest press conference, the government spokesman spoke about the distribution of foreign papers in Hungary and of Hungarian papers abroad. In his answer supported by facts and data he pointed out first of all that in the distribution of foreign papers in Hungary the basic aim is to meet the requirement of the population for information. This is demanded by the increase of the requirement for foreign information, as well as by the development of democracy. The readiness of our country for openness is manifested in this fact. These ambitions are in harmony with our expanding international relations, our developing foreign tourism and last but not least with our obligations undertaken in connection with the implementation of the Helsinki recommendations.

In Hungary some half a million copies of newspapers per issue are distributed. Four-fifths of them derive from socialist countries and they include all important daily papers, weekly papers, and periodicals. Seventy percent of the more than 15,000 kinds of foreign papers is imported from capitalist countries. Subscribers can choose from a public catalog and at the same time street vending also increases continuously. The choice of papers is increasing too. For more than a year now Western bourgeois papers have been available in the streets too, and their sale has been extended in the past year to several provincial towns as well.

As regards the distribution of Hungarian papers abroad "we naturally and rightly set out from the principle of reciprocity"--as the government spokesman put it. It is also natural that by reciprocity we do not mean numerical

equality. We cannot expect that because of the difference of languages either. To take a simple example, there are obviously more people in Hungary who speak French than French people who speak Hungarian. We import from France 8,083 copies of papers per issue and we export 4,111 copies. As regards the numbers we suppose that our "French export" could be improved.

By reciprocity in the distribution of publications we mean the equal possibility of obtaining papers. What we should like is that both here and there papers should be available according to demand, so that everybody can get without difficulty the paper which he or she would like to read. And within this we should like to see a situation in which Hungarians living abroad or those visiting foreign countries can easily get the Hungarian newspapers and periodicals to which they have got used to. "In this respect we have gained very good experiences in the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and Austria. Unfortunately this favorable picture is not at all a general one"--the government spokesman said.

The good examples--the enforcement of the principle of reciprocity--are supported by figures. The number of copies per issue provide guarantee for the fact that in Hungary and in the neighboring countries--with one exception--members of the national minority and tourists can get without difficulty the foreign papers they want. In this respect the principle of reciprocity suffers damage in our cooperation with Romania.

Some 52,214 copies of Hungarian papers per issue can get through to our eastern neighbor, while 20,805 copies arrive to Hungary from there. Taking into consideration the number of Hungarians living in Romania and of Romanians living in Hungary, we do not regard this proportion as satisfactory and in our opinion it can be explained by the fact that Hungarians in Romania and Hungarian tourists visiting that country find difficult to get papers published in Hungary. As has been mentioned above: We should like to see the obstacles in the way of the enforcement of the principle of reciprocity being removed.

As regards the distribution of foreign papers in Hungary, our government complies with its national and international obligations. It is with awareness of this fact that we shall take part in the third follow-up conference of the Helsinki process, in the meeting to be opened in Vienna on Tuesday. The items on the agenda of that meeting include the implementation of the Helsinki recommendations and among them the so-called "third basket" as well, the one concerning the free flow of information. Our luggage will not be empty in that respect either.

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CSO: 2500/96

ALIA GREETES 'FREE ALBANIA' GROUP IN U.S.

AU291519 Tirana ATA in English 0935 GMT 29 Nov 86

["Greetings of Comrade Ramiz Alia Addressed to the 'Shqiperia e Lire' Patriotic Organization on Occasion of the 45th Anniversary of Its Founding"--ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, 29 Nov (ATA)--Dear compatriots, Albanian brothers and sisters of America: It is a special joy for me that on occasion of the marked day for you, the 45th anniversary of the founding of the "Shqiperia e Lire" [Free Albania] patriotic organisation to convey to you my warmest greetings and to wish wholeheartedly ever greater successes and progress in your patriotic activity.

We have felt and feel always your love for the birthplace, our sincere joy over its progress on the road of the construction of the new life, your ardent longing for Albania and its people. They have inspired and encouraged us in our struggle to safeguard and strengthen the freedom and independence of the homeland, to raise it in new heights, things which for you too, dear compatriots of America, are as sacred as they are for the entire Albanian people.

Our people, their party and government, evaluate highly that noble and important role your organisation plays to preserve and cultivate among our compatriots the Albanian historic traditions and good customs, our ancient language and culture, all those spiritual values our people have created in centuries.

The new Albania after the National Liberation War has shown permanent interest of those Albanians who, the old regimes and the miserable situation of the country forced them to emigrate to win a living for themselves and their families [sentence as received]. It has made efforts so that their spiritual ties with the homeland be always preserved, that they feel always warmth of the homeland.

Wishing again further successes to your organisation, I want to express my conviction that its patriotic activity will continue, it will not spare the energies and work to keep alive and intensify the spiritual ties with the homeland, the love for its people.

Fraternal greetings,

Ramiz Alia

Tirana, 27 November 1986

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CSO: 2020/31

ALIA SENDS GREETINGS TO LAOTIAN LEADERS

AU021137 Tirana ATA in English 0830 GMT 2 Dec 86

[Text] Tirana, 2 Dec (ATA)--Comrades Ramiz Alia, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, and Adil Carcani, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, have sent the following message of greetings to Comrade Kaysone Phomvihane, secretary general of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary People's Party of Laos, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, and Comrade Souphanouvong, president of the Lao People's Democratic Republic:

On occasion of your national day, the 11th anniversary of the founding of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, on behalf of the Albanian people, the Central Committee of the party of Albania [as received], the Presidium of the People's Assembly, the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania as well as in our names, we convey to you and the Laotian people our warm greetings and wishes.

The Albanian people have closely followed with sympathy and have supported always the just struggle of the Laotian people and their efforts for the construction and progress of the country. On this memorable day of celebration we wish them constant successes in their work for the development of the people's economy and culture and in the struggle to defend the freedom and independence of the homeland.

We express our conviction that the friendly relations between our two peoples and countries will develop constantly in their common good and of the struggle against imperialism.

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CSO: 2020/31

VIETNAMESE CP DELEGATE ADDRESSES AWP CONGRESS

AU141037 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 5 Nov 86 [no page given]

["Greeting of the Leader of the Vietnamese CP Delegation, Comrade Trinh Xuan Bach, Central Committee Secretary"]

[Text] Respected comrades of the Presidium,

Respected comrades,

The delegation of the Vietnamese Communist Party [VCP] sincerely thanks the AWP Central Committee for its invitation to them to take part in the Ninth AWP Congress. In the name of the VCP and the Vietnamese working class and people, allow us to convey warmest greetings to the congress and through it to the fraternal Albanian communists, working class, and people.

The Ninth AWP Congress takes place at a time when the whole of the Albanian party and people are celebrating the 45th anniversary of the foundation of the party, an event which marked an important turning point in the glorious history of the Albanian party and people.

At the congress, Comrade Ramiz Alia, AWP Central Committee first secretary, and successor in the great work of Comrade Enver Hoxha, delivered an important report presenting the achievements and rich experience in the process of the construction of socialism in Albania, and laid down the directions and main tasks of socioeconomic development for the 1986-1990 period, furthering Albania's road toward a brilliant future.

The past 45 years are an unforgettable historical period for the Albanian people.

The VCP and the Vietnamese people rejoice over the great victories of the AWP and the fraternal Albanian people.

There is much in common in the history of the development of the two countries and peoples of Vietnam and Albania. The people of our two countries have traditions of undefeated struggle against aggressors to maintain the freedom and independence of the fatherland. We have the ideals of socialism and communism in common.

Feelings of pure and sincere friendship have been born and strengthened in our two peoples, despite the thousands of kilometers between them.

It is with particular satisfaction that we note that recently relations of friendship, militant solidarity and fraternal cooperation between our two parties and peoples have developed further and well.

From this solemn congress podium, with respect and warm feelings for the heroic Albanian people and the heroic AWP, allow me to convey to you the message of greeting of the VCP Central Committee.

On the occasion of the Ninth AWP Congress, in the name of the VCP, and the Vietnamese working class and people, it says in the message of the VCP Central Committee, we send warm greetings to the congress and through it to communists, the working class, and the fraternal Albanian people.

Your congress, coinciding with the celebration of the 45th anniversary of the foundation of the party is an event of particular importance in the political life of the Albanian people.

In carrying forward the brilliant victories of the heroic war against the aggression of the Italian fascists and the German Nazis, the Albanian people in a very short time healed the wounds of war and reconstructed their country, transforming Albania from a backward feudal country straight to socialism, without passing through the capitalist stage of development. Under the leadership of the AWP with Comrade Enver Hoxha and now Comrade Ramiz Alia at its head, the working class and the Albanian people have overcome all difficulties, transforming the face of the country completely, in a spirit of tireless and creative labor. Today Albania has been transformed into a land with developed industry and agriculture, advanced culture and education, and a continually rising material and spiritual life for the masses.

The VCP and the Vietnamese people rejoice greatly at the great successes of the fraternal Albanian people. We have complete faith that, in the light of the decisions of this congress, the working class and the Albanian people will continue to harvest fresh and still greater victories in the construction of socialism, making an active contribution to the defense of peace in the Balkans, in Europe, and the world.

In its long and brave war against the American aggressors, and today too in the construction of socialism and the defense of the socialist fatherland, the Vietnamese party, government, and people have always enjoyed the help and valued support of the Albanian party, government, and people. On this occasion allow us to express our sincere gratitude to you and the fraternal Albanian people.

The VCP and the Vietnamese people note with great satisfaction that the relationships of friendship and militant solidarity between our two parties, peoples, and nations, are being continually developed and strengthened contributing to the forward progress of the revolution in our two countries.

We have complete faith that fraternal relations and cooperation between our parties and countries on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism will be continually developed and strengthened in the interest of the peoples of our two countries and peace and socialism.

With respect, I wish success to the Ninth AWP Congress.

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CSO: 2020/31

MORE FOREIGN DELEGATES ADDRESS AWP CONGRESS

AU170851 [Editorial Report] Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian on 7 November 1986 carries on pages 8 and 9 six greetings delivered to the Ninth AWP Congress in Tirana on 6 November by foreign delegates as follows: an 800-word greeting by Kamilo Almeida [spelling as received], Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Ecuador Central Committee secretary; a 500-word greeting by the unnamed leader of the delegation of the Indonesian Communist Party; an 800-word greeting by Hardial Bains, Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist) Central Committee first secretary; a 750-word greeting by the unnamed leader of the delegation of the Communist Party of Chile (Proletarian Action); an 800-word greeting by Antonio Fernandez, Peruvian Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) general secretary; and a 700-word greeting by Eduardo Pires, Communist Party of Portugal (Reconstructed) Central Committee first secretary.

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian on 8 November carries on page 7 three further greetings delivered to the Ninth AWP Congress in Tirana on 7 November by foreign delegates as follows: an 800-word greeting by Raul Marko [spelling as received], Communist Party of Spain (Marxist-Leninist) Central Committee first secretary; an 800-word greeting by Anders Persson, Communist Party of Sweden Central Committee first secretary, and an 800-word greeting by Harold Crook, Communist Party of New Zealand Central Committee first secretary.

/9599

CSO: 2020/31

ARAB CONDEMNATION OF UK BREACH WITH SYRIA NOTED

AU281217 Tirana ATA in English 1033 GMT 28 Oct 86

["Britain's Decision to Sever the Diplomatic Relations With Syria
Condemned"--ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, 28 Oct (ATA)--The Syrian foreign minister, Faruq al-Shar', at a meeting with the ambassadors of the EEC member countries, pointed out among others that the severing of the diplomatic relations with Syria on the part of Britain "is inspired by hostile motives towards the Syrian policy and the Arab cause and cannot be detached from Israel's desire to undermine the relations between the Arab world and Europe." While the Syrian minister of state for foreign affairs, Isam Al Oajeb [spelling as received] at a press conference in Damascus with the ambassadors and the representatives of the Arab countries in Syria stressed that "One of the political aims of the British decision is the creation of the suitable conditions for Israel and the United States regarding the extinction of the struggle of the Arab nation."

A statement announced by the Foreign Ministry of Algeria says that "The Republic of Syria has now become an object of attempts which aim at isolating and threatening it with aggression." It also points out that Algeria expresses its full solidarity with Syria and assures it of its all-sided support."

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CSO: 2020/31

REPORTAGE ON MESSAGES RECEIVED IN CELEBRATION OF NATIONAL DAY

Greetings From Czechoslovakia's Husak

AU021747 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 30 Nov 86 p 3

[Cable from Gustav Husak, president of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic to Ramiz Alia, president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania]

[Text] On the occasion of the national day of your country, allow me in my own name and in the name of the working people of socialist Czechoslovakia, to send cordial greetings to you and the whole Albanian people.

On this occasion, allow me to express the conviction that relations between our two countries will develop further on the basis of the principles of equality, noninterference in internal affairs and mutual benefit to the good of the working people of socialist Czechoslovakia and socialist Albania.

SFRY's Hasani Sends Greetings

AU021746 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 30 Nov 86 p 3

[Cable from Sinan Hasani, president of the Presidency of the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia, to Ramiz Alia, president of the Presidium of the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania]

[Text] On the occasion of your national day, in the name of the Presidency of the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia, I sent to you our congratulations and best wishes for the well-being of the people of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. In expressing on this occasion our deep feeling for the principles of good-neighborliness, the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia, at the same time, stresses the importance of the development of reciprocally beneficial cooperation between our two countries.

Cable From Chinese Leaders

AU021749 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 30 Nov 86 p 3

[Cable from Li Xiannian, president of the People's Republic of China, and Zhao Ziyang, premier of the State Council, to Ramiz Alia, president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania]

[Text] On the occasion of the 42d anniversary of the liberation of Albania and the people's revolution, in the name of the Chinese Government and people, we send festive greetings and good wishes for the prosperity and progress of Albania and the happiness of the people.

Cuban Leaders' Greetings

AU021745 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 30 Nov 86 p 3

[Cable from Fidel Castro Ruz, president of the Council of State and of the Government of the Republic of Cuba, to Ramiz Alia, president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, and Adil Carcani, chairman of the Council of Ministers]

[Text] On the occasion of the celebration of the national day of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, in the name of the people, the Council of State and the Government of the Republic of Cuba, we send our congratulations together with our wishes for the prosperity of the Albanian people.

Greetings From Cambodian Leaders

AU021610 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 30 Nov 86 p 3

[Cable from Heng Samrin, chairman of the Council of State of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, and Hun Sen, chairman of the Council of Ministers, to Ramiz Alia, president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania]

[Text] On the occasion of the 74th anniversary of the celebration of independence, and the 42d anniversary of the national day of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, in the name of the Central Committee of the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea, the Council of State, and the Council of Ministers, of the Cambodian people and in our own names, we take great pleasure in sending you, and through you, to the AWP Central Committee, the Presidium of the People's Assembly, the Council of Ministers and the fraternal Albanian people, our warmest greetings.

The People's Republic of Kampuchea hails all the achievements attained under the leadership of the AWP, and wishes the Albanian people new successes in implementing the decisions taken at the ninth party congress.

We have the strong conviction that our efforts to strengthen and develop bilateral relations between our peoples and countries will actively contribute to social progress and peace in the world.

Vietnamese Greeting Received

AU021758 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 30 Nov 86 p 3

[Cable from Truong Chinh, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Vietnamese Communist Party and chairman of the Council of State of the SRV, and Pham Van Dong, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the SRV to Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, and Adil Carcani, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania]

[Text] On the occasion of the 42d anniversary of the liberation and the triumph of the people's revolution in Albania, we convey to you and through you to the AWP, the Presidium of the People's Assembly, the Council of Ministers, and the fraternal Albanian people our warmest greetings.

The date 29 November 1944 has entered the history of the Albanian people as a magnificent event, a date when the Albanian people, under the leadership of the Albanian Communist Party (now the AWP), through a heroic struggle over many years, overcoming numerous difficulties and sacrifices, and benefiting from favorable international circumstances, defeated the rule of the Italian and German fascists and the domestic reactionaries, liberated Albania, and opened up to the country an era of independence, freedom, and socialism.

Inspired by the victories attained, the Albanian people are doing their utmost to implement the directives of the Ninth AWP Congress for the development of the economy and culture during the 1986-1990 period, to make further strides forward in the long-term strategy of the complete construction of a socialist society in their beautiful country.

The Vietnamese people rejoice and appreciate the fraternal Albanian people and wish wholeheartedly that they may achieve even greater victories under the leadership of the AWP and Comrade Ramiz Alia at the head, making their contribution to the consolidation of socialism and the defense of peace in the Balkans, Europe, and the world.

The Vietnamese communists and the Vietnamese people rejoice at the fact that the traditionally very good friendly relations, the militant solidarity, and the fraternal collaboration that have existed between our two parties and countries over more than 40 years have been further improved in recent years.

We are fully convinced that, through the joint efforts of our two countries, these relations will be constantly strengthened and developed in all fields.

Availing ourselves of the opportunity, we sincerely thank the AWP, the government and the people of Albania for their valuable support and assistance

during our national liberation struggle, as well as currently, by helping the cause of the Vietnamese people in the construction and defense of the homeland.

May the friendly relations and all-round cooperation between Vietnam and Albania increasingly strengthen and develop.

Greetings From DPRK

AU021606 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 30 Nov 86 p 3

[Cable from Kim Il-song, Workers' Party of Korea Central Committee general secretary and president of the DPRK, to Ramiz Alia, president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania]

[Text] On the occasion of the 42d anniversary of the liberation and of the people's revolution in Albania, I wish to send you, in the name of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea, the Government of the DPRK, and the Korean people, and in my own name, my warm greetings to you and the Albanian people.

In the 42 years since the liberation of the nation and the people's revolution, the Albanian people have achieved great successes in its labor of developing the economy and culture and creating a new life.

The Korean people are sincerely delighted at the successes achieved by the Albanian people in the construction of a new society.

Convinced that the friendly relations existing between our two countries will continue to develop, I would like to use this occasion to sincerely wish you and your people still greater successes in your struggles to fulfill the 8th 5-Year Plan.

Syrian Premier Sends Greetings

AU021211 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 30 Nov 86 p 3

[Cable from Syrian President al-Asad to Albanian People's Assembly Presidium President Ramiz Alia]

[Text] On the occasion of the anniversary of the liberation of Albania, it brings me great pleasure, on behalf of the Syrian people and in my own name, to send our sincere greetings to Your Excellency and to the friendly people of Albania.

I would like to use this occasion to express my confidence that the relations of friendship and cooperation between our countries will develop further in the future too, in the interests of both our peoples.

Please accept our best wishes for your personal health and for the happiness and prosperity of the Albanian people.

Lebanese, Yemeni Premiers' Greetings

AU041320 Tirana ATA in English 1106 GMT 4 Dec 86

[Text] Tirana, 4 Dec (ATA)--On occasion of 29 November, 42d anniversary of the liberation of the homeland and the triumph of the people's revolution, Comrade Ramiz Alia, first secretary of the CC of the party and president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, has received messages of greetings from Haydar Abu Bakr al-'Attas, member of the Political Bureau, chairman of the Presidium of the High Popular Council of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, and from Amin al-Jumayyil, president of the Republic of Lebanon.

/9599

CSO: 2020/31

MARKO HONORS HERO SHEPHERD IN SKRAPAR

AU221809 Tirana ATA in English 1115 GMT 22 Nov 86

[Text] Tirana, 20 Nov (ATA)--The ceremony of handing over the lofty title of "Hero of Socialist Labour," awarded by the Presidium of the People's Assembly to the devoted shepherd, Kujtim Fejzi Shimi (posthumously) was organized in the village of Zaloshnje, Skrapar District, yesterday before noon. Educated with the teachings of the party, he laid down his life to save the livestock herd of the cooperative. The ceremony was attended by many cooperativists. Present were also the member of the Political Bureau of the party and vice president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Comrade Rita Marko, and cadres of the party and power in the district.

A rally was held in the centre of the village. Comrade Rita Marko greeted those present on behalf of the Central Committee of the party, the Presidium of the People's Assembly, the Council of Ministers, and the first secretary of the Central Committee of the party, Comrade Ramiz Alia, personally. Then he handed over the high decoration of "Hero of Socialist Labour" awarded by the Presidium of the People's Assembly to the devoted shepherd, Kujtim Fejzi Shimi (posthumously).

Taking the decoration, the hero's son thanked for the great honour made by the party and expressed the high readiness of all the members of the family that, just as their father, they will work and fight self-denyingly all their life for the implementation of the teachings of the party, the instructions of Comrade Ramiz Alia, to protect and develop the socialist property, to defend the homeland.

Comrade Rita Marko also made a visit to the house of the hero, where he expressed his condolences to the family members and relatives of the hero.

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CSO: 2020/31

MASS ACTION TO DOUBLE OLIVE PRODUCTION PLEDGED

AU201010 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 14 Oct 86 pp 1, 3

[ATA report: "To Crown With Success the New National Youth Mass Action to Double Olive Production by the End of the 5-Year Plan"]

[Excerpts] Meeting of the Albanian League of Working Youth Central Committee Bureau

Yesterday the Albanian League of Working Youth Central Committee Bureau held a meeting, which discussed the tasks set before youth organizations to crown with success the new national mass action which the party has entrusted to young people: the care of the olive crop, with the aim of doubling production by the end of the 5-year plan.

Also at the meeting were Comrade Vangjel Cerrava, AWP Central Committee secretary, Themie Thomai, minister of agriculture and other comrades.

Mehmet Elezi, Albanian League of Working Youth Central Committee first secretary, promised that all young people would respond to the task set them by the party with well-organized capable managed labor, embodying the motto, "Let us work every day as on the Day of Enver, and every week as in Week of Envery."

/9599

CSO: 2020/31

BRIEFS

ENVOY TO DENMARK--Shpetim Caushi, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania to Denmark, presented his credentials to Queen Margarethe II on 2 October 1986. [Text] [Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 2 Oct 86 AU] /9599

MALILE RECEIVES NEW ALGERIAN AMBASSADOR--Tirana, 14 Oct (ATA)--The minister of foreign affairs of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, Reis Malile received the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Algerian Democratic and People's Republic to the P.S.R. of Albania Rachid Haddad with regard to the coming presentation of the credentials to the president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. [Text] [Tirana ATA in English 0801 GMT 14 Oct 86] /9599

NEW ALGERIAN AMBASSADOR RECEIVED--Tirana, 16 Oct (ATA)--The president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, Comrade Ramiz Alia, received the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Algerian Democratic and People's Republic to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, Rachid Haddad, who presented the credentials. Attending the ceremony of the presentation of the credentials were the minister of foreign affairs, Reis Malile; the secretary of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Sihat Tozaj; director of department at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Zeqi Agolli; and the chairman of the protocol branch at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Kostaq Cifligu. [Text] [Tirana ATA in English 0803 GMT 16 Oct 86] /9599

VISIT TO BERAT TEXTILE COMBINE--Tirana, 23 Oct (ATA)--The Presidium of the People's Assembly awarded the lofty title of "Hero of Socialist Labour" to the textile combine in Berat. Participating in the rally organized on the occasion of handing over this high decoration were textile workers, workers and specialists from other enterprises in the district. Attending were also the alternate member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party and vice chairman of the Council of Ministers, Comrade Besnik Bektashi, the first secretary of the District Party Committee, Halil Hasko, the minister of light and foodstuff industry, Vito Kapo, and other comrades. [Excerpt] [Tirana ATA in English 0845 GMT 23 Oct 86] /9599

BERAT CONSTRUCTION PROJECT BEGINS--Tirana, 23 Oct (ATA)--Yesterday, on the anniversary of the creation of the first democratic government of Albania, the

work for the construction of the new aqueduct began in Berat. A nice popular festivity was organised on the first day of the voluntary work. Present were also the alternate member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party and vice chairman of the Council of Ministers, Besnik Bekteshi, the first secretary of the party committee of the district Halil Hasko, the minister of communal economy, Kudret Arapi, etc. The speech on the occasion was made by the chairman of the Executive Committee of the District People's Council, Kristaq Kule. [Excerpt] [Tirana ATA in English 0850 GMT 23 Oct 86] /9599

AWARDS TO WORKING PEOPLE--Tirana, 28 Oct (ATA)--In the context of the 9th Congress of the Party and the 45th anniversary of its founding a festive meeting was organised in Tirana on 27 October. Present were working people of the capital, outstanding in the revolutionary movement, "Standard Bearers of Implementing the Teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha." The member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the party and vice president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Comrade Rita Marko, handed over orders and medals of work that the Presidium of the People's Assembly had awarded to some outstanding working people of different sectors of the economy. [Excerpts] [Tirana ATA in English 1020 GMT 28 Oct 86] /9599

SFRY AMBASSADOR PRESENTS CREDENTIALS--In Tirana Novak Pribicevic, our country's new ambassador to Albania, has presented his credentials to Ramiza Alia, president of the Albanian Assembly. Pribicevic and Alia exchanged views on the development of relations between the two neighboring countries. TANJUG reports that the talks, which passed in a spirit of mutual respect, stressed the importance of advancing bilateral cooperation on the principles of respect for sovereignty and of noninterference in internal affairs. [Text] [Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 29 Oct 86] /9599

TRANSFERRED GREEK AMBASSADOR DEPARTS--Tirana, 25 Nov (ATA)--On occasion of his transfer, the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Greek Republic to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania Apostolos Papasliotis left our country, on 24 November. [Text] [Tirana ATA in English 0805 GMT 25 Nov 86] /9599

AUSTRIAN ACADEMIC DELEGATION ARRIVES--Tirana, 25 Nov (ATA)--At the invitation of the Academy of Sciences of the PSR of Albania, a delegation of the Academy of Sciences of Austria, led by its president, Prof. Dr. Johann Tuppy, arrived in our country. The delegation was welcomed at the airport by the vice president of the Academy of Sciences, Prof. Kole Popa, and other comrades. The delegation of the Academy of Sciences of Austria was received by the president of the Academy of Sciences Prof. Aleks Buda. During the reception, which passed in a warm and friendly atmosphere, opinions were exchanged on problems of the scientific cooperation between the two academies. In honour of the Austrian guests the Academy of Sciences gave a dinner. [Text] [Tirana ATA in English 0806 GMT 25 Nov 86] /9599

BULGARIAN TRADE DELEGATION RECEIVED--Adil Carcani, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, today received

Khristo Khristov, minister of trade of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and leader of the government trade delegation now in Albania, together with persons accompanying him. The meeting was also attended by Shane Korebci, minister of foreign trade, and Sokrat Plaka, deputy minister of foreign affairs. (?Yordan Iliev), charge d'affaires ad interim of the Embassy of the People's Republic of Bulgaria in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, was also present. [Text] [Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 26 Nov 86] /9599

CAMBODIAN DELEGATION ARRIVES--Tirana, 2 Dec (ATA)--A delegation of the National Assembly of the People's Republic of Cambodia, led by the chairman of the Assembly, Chea Sim, arrived on a friendly visit to our country on 1 December. Present to welcome the delegation were the chairman of the Presidency of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, Pali Miska; the vice chairman of the Council of Ministers, Besnik Bekteshi; members of the Presidium of the People's Assembly and government, deputies, etc. They met with and warmly greeted Comrade Chea Sim and the persons accompanying him and wished them welcome. [Text] [Tirana ATA in English 0816 GMT 2 Dec 86] /9599

CSO: 2020/31

PAPER REPORTS 'REVELATIONS' OF U.S.-IRAN TIES

AU142022 Sofia NARODNA MLADEZH in Bulgarian 13 Nov 86 p 3

[NARODNA MLADEZH "own report" from Tunisia: "The United States and the 'Iranian Connection'"]

[Text] Tunis, 12 November (our own information)--The revelations about illegal military equipment deliveries from the United States to Iran which, as it appears from everything, will culminate in a great political scandal, were described by the Arab League as a "cause for serious concern." According to Chedli Klibi, secretary general of the League, cited by the AFP news agency, "the actions of the United States are in full contradiction with the policy of neutrality" assumed by Washington in the Iran-Iraq conflict. Klibi considers it a particularly significant fact, that Israel was also involved in the deals, a country which is least interested in halting the bloodshed in the Persian Gulf.

The events developed in the classic manner and according to the well-known scenario of political scandals: There were brief news items in the newspapers at the beginning, followed by an increasing avalanche of announcements and by ever increasing new revelations, accompanied by more or less nebulous statements of competent state leaders involved in the case. We say nebulous because numerous details about this affair have not yet been clarified by official Washington circles, which still hope to remain untouched by the scandal.

In summing up all the news collected from the mass media up to the present moment, and mainly from the WASHINGTON POST, NEW YORK TIMES, and London TIMES, the following picture emerges: The U.S. government, in pursuing biased political goals, changed its official course of isolating Iran and of alleged neutrality in the Iran-Iraq conflict. Through illegal channels and secret negotiations Washington tried to revive its relations and its influence with Tehran and, with its assistance, to prepare the liberation of the American hostages in Lebanon. It is asserted that in this deal the United States paid with one of the traditional currencies of exchange; namely, with weapons.

Robert McFarlane, President Reagan's former national security adviser, visited Iran on several occasions as the executant of this mission. On the

last visit, in September 1986, he reportedly arrived there illegally, with an Irish passport, on board an aircraft transporting aviation spare parts. Since McFarlane was not enthusiastically welcome in Tehran (as a matter of fact, he was kicked out of the country), he obviously was unable to hand over the message which, according to the IRNA news agency, President Reagan sent with an appeal for an improvement of relations between the two countries.

The revelations demonstrate that long before the unsuccessful visit paid by McFarlane, American arms deliveries were dispatched to Iran through secret channels; namely, through Israel and Europe, involving third countries in this risky adventure, countries which the United States is calling its allies. Last Monday the AFP news agency cited the leader of the Danish sailors trade union according to whom, at the beginning of 1986, at least five Danish ships sailed from Israeli ports to Iran. The British daily THE OBSERVER revealed revelatory facts about the exploitation of Great Britain as a base for negotiations on quite considerable military deliveries, such as tanks, heavy artillery, and helicopters. The negotiations were, reportedly, conducted with the knowledge of the Foreign Office and, according to the newspaper, were conducted outside the framework of the official arms market.

This case became a scandal in Washington following the announcement by the mass media that the plan to establish secret contacts with Tehran was personally approved by President Reagan. The U.S. congress is preparing an investigation to establish whether and to what extent the White House has violated the embargo imposed upon arms deliveries to Iran following the crisis of the U.S. hostages in 1980. If this should be confirmed, Reagan will face problems not only with Congress and with his Secretary of State George Shultz, who claims that he has not been informed about the case, but also as regards his prestige on the domestic and international scene.

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CSO: 2200/25

WASHINGTON-TEHRAN CONTACTS DISCUSSED

AU272105 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 14 Nov 86 p 2

[Boyko Angelov article: "An Offering With the Bible, a Cake, and Weapons..."
--passages between slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] /Washington: The U.S. Administration once more tried hard to absolve the White House of drastic violation of law in the scandalous affair involving deliveries of weapons and military equipment spare parts to Iran. President Reagan, in person, joined the defense campaign (after preferring to remain silent for a long time). At a meeting with the members of Congress he explained that contacts had actually taken place between the United States and Iran with the purpose of improving bilateral relations "with the help of moderate circles in Tehran." The Iranian ambassador in Washington, in turn, declared that the United States had delivered military equipment to his country, but denied that this had something to do with the question of U.S. hostages in Lebanon, whose liberation, according to the recent revelations, was one of the conditions for the illegal deal./

This scandalous story, which is still awaiting further clarification, recalls the initial scenes of a trivial Hollywood thriller. For the time being, however, operation "Iranian connection" remains in the file marked "top secret" while the true authors of the affair are stubbornly refusing to defend their copyright.

The fuse was lit by the Lebanese weekly ASH-SHIRAA [spelling transliterated]. Hashemi Rafsanjani, Iranian Majlis speaker, indirectly confirmed the sensational announcement and added new details to it. Numerous American, British, and other mass media followed with revelations from their own sources which complemented the logical version about illegal contacts between Washington and Tehran.

/An aircraft with a five-member crew on board landed at Tehran airport in the middle of September 1986. The "pilots" had Iranian passports, but they were Americans and the "first pilot" was Robert McFarlane, the U.S. President's adviser on national security questions. They brought a Bible with President Reagan's own signature, and a cake in the form of a key--a symbolic present for the Iranian authorities--intended to demonstrate Washington's wish to improve its relations with Tehran. This was the purpose of McFarlane's

secret mission, but with a most specific context, namely: that Washington is ready to deliver weapons and spare parts for military equipment to Iran in exchange for assistance in the liberation of the U.S. hostages in Lebanon and for Tehran's refusal to support "certain movements" abroad. As to the Iranian version of the "McFarlane affair," it was stressed that the crew was kept in full isolation throughout 5 days at the personal instruction of Hojjat ol-Eslam Khamene'i and it was later expelled without the opportunity of meeting any official Iranian representatives whatsoever.

/According to other reports however, this was just one visit in a series (the last one, actually) paid by McFarlane to Tehran. The deliveries of spare parts and weapons were already in progress at that time. As the CBS television network claims, the first delivery had been shipped from Israel and was reportedly unloaded in the port of Bandar 'Abbas. A few more deliveries followed, transported by air from U.S. bases on the Philippines. The role played by Israel as a mediator was confirmed by various sources, and the U.S. magazine NEWSWEEK in its last issue reported that in 1985 Shim'on Peres, who was prime minister of Israel at that time, gave his blessing to the idea that Tel Aviv should be the mediator in supplying Iran with urgently needed spare parts for U.S. military equipment and with new weapons./

All these revelations caused confusion at the beginning, followed by a true storm of indignation in Washington. The Reagan administration refuses to confirm them officially, but is also not trying to refute them. "Private individuals" made quite significantly confessions, from which we can deduce that the version about the "Iranian connection" is quite truthful if not in all details, at least in its basic version. The version about the involvement of the highest U.S. government circles in establishing this connection is correct as well. The ABC television network announced that Reagan, in person, had approved the secret contacts with Tehran as early as a year and a half ago, under the influence of John Poindexter, his adviser on national security questions, and most probably, also under the influence of CIA chief William Casey. The NEW YORK TIMES claims that the White House allegedly acted behind the back of the State Department and behind the back of Secretary of State George Shultz, the head of the State Department. Since the chief responsibility for violations of American laws outside the country belongs to the State Department, the newspaper suggests that Shultz should be forced to hand in his resignation.

The secretary of state categorically denied such intentions. The administration is doing everything within its power to suppress the scandal. President Reagan held an out-of-turn meeting with his closest advisers last Monday. A declaration was issued following the meeting, aimed at calming down public opinion.

Nevertheless, hardly anyone can be convinced today that the concern about the fate of the hostages was the reason for Washington violating its "political principles." The financial aspect of the question (namely profits from the sale of weapons) is not the most important factor, either. Political motivations have to be considered in the first place. Through arms deliveries for

a country which is waging war against a neighboring state, the United States guarantees the pursuit of this conflict and further undermines the cause of Arab unity (hence, the active participation of Israel in the "dangerous connection" between Washington and Tehran). This is what numerous countries in the Persian Gulf area and in the Middle East believe. Nevertheless, the position of the Republican U.S. Administration, which was already shaken by the recent mid-term elections, suffered the greatest damage. People in Washington already recall with bitterness another scandalous affair, namely, the one involving the U.S. hostages in Iran [seven] $\frac{1}{2}$ years ago, which, to a great extent, was the cause of Jimmy Carter's loss of the presidential election, and which brought Ronald Reagan to power...

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CSO: 2200/25

POLITICS

BULGARIA

YOUTH DAILY COMMENTS ON U.S.-IRAN RELATIONS

AU142046 Sofia NARODNA MLADEZH in Bulgarian 13 Nov 86 p 3

[Bistra Boyadzhieva "commentary": "The United States and the 'Iranian Connection'"]

[Text] Regardless of the results reached by the investigation of the affair in the United States, we can still say: There have been too many facts which have been confirmed and conclusions which have been drawn to make it impossible to exclude the involvement of official Washington. The U.S. stake in this political game is quite considerable as well. This is so because everyone is aware of the fact that the question not only pertains to the liberation of the American hostages in Lebanon, but to the role which Iran is likely to play in the geopolitical plans of the United States if there should be any forces in that country on which the United States can rely. As is known, the United States is not choosy about the means for finding such forces. Behind the negotiations on illegal arms deliveries for Iran we clearly recognize the efforts to establish relations with precisely such forces. The problem is that in this affair, with its dubious political results, the United States once more proves to its allies and the whole world that conclusions about U.S. policy must be made not on the basis of Washington's rhetoric, but on the basis of its real actions.

At a time when mutual confidence has become the chief prerequisite in international relations, this reputation transforms the United States into a rather unreliable partner in solving international problems, both the small and great ones.

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CSO: 2200/25

BTA COMMENTATOR ON GORBACHEV'S VISIT TO INDIA

AU271927 Sofia BTA in English 1837 GMT 27 Nov 86

["For a World Without Nuclear Weapons and Violence"--BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, November 27 (BTA commentator Rumen Popov)--Mr Mikhail Gorbachev's official friendly visit to India, which has stayed in the focus of attention of the world public these days, fully confirmed the hopes of all peace-loving forces and will remain in history as an important event in the struggle for the elimination of the threat of a nuclear holocaust, for the strengthening of peace and international cooperation.

The Delhi declaration on the principles of a world free of nuclear weapons and violence is a call addressed to all countries and peoples and to all peace-loving forces to work for the elimination of the threat of a nuclear war, for the strengthening of peaceful coexistence and cooperation, a call to stop using force in international affairs and to resolve conflicts by political means only. The proposals on the complete elimination of all nuclear arsenals by the end of the century, on the non-proliferation of weapons into space, on banning nuclear tests and the development of new types of mass destruction weapons are of great significance at this stage of international affairs, when mankind's survival is given top priority. The Soviet-Indian proposal for the immediate signing of a convention outlawing the use and threat of nuclear arms is of great importance as a step along the road to complete nuclear disarmament.

The position of the Soviet Union on the need to demilitarize the Indian Ocean, as explained by Mr Mikhail Gorbachev in his speech before the Indian Parliament, was met with great interest. The Soviet Union's readiness to start negotiations with the United States and with all other interested Asian countries on reducing the navies operating in this part of the world and on confidence-building measures confirms its readiness to strengthen the military and political stability of that part of the world.

Mr Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to India has given a new impetus to the struggle to eliminate the nuclear threat and to ensure mankind's development in a world free of wars and violence. This visit strengthens the hopes that this vital task could be fulfilled with the joint efforts of all peace-loving forces.

LABOR DAILY ON MATERIAL PROSPERITY IN PRC

AU171927 [Editorial Report] Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian on 13 November 1986 carries on page 3 a 1400-word article by Zakhari Zakhariev entitled: "Socialism Does Not Mean Impoverishment." Zakhariev first notes the fast rate of economic growth in the PRC during the past few years. He ascribes this success to "the realistic policy of the Chinese leadership and to certain reforms in the economic sphere implemented in recent years." This economic growth, Zakhariev points out, is leading to "a gradual increase of national prosperity." He notes that although the present average per capita income in China, around 300 dollars, is relatively modest, "a not inconsiderable section of the population has substantially larger financial capacities," and "one has good grounds to speak of rich people, whose numbers are growing."

Zakhariev contrasts the present policy of encouraging individuals to amass wealth by hard work with the formerly proclaimed dogma of "equality in poverty," especially popular during the Cultural Revolution. Now, Zakhariev asserts, "the concept that 'socialism does not mean impoverishment' is officially defended." Zakhariev comments that "considerable changes have occurred not only in people's economic living conditions, but also in their mentality and way of life." This is shown by the accepted view that "riches are not a sin" and the supplanting of the former "three great things" marking individual success--the watch, bicycle, and sewing machine, with the present "eight necessary things," which include color television, tape recorders, video cassettes, and motorcycles.

According to Zakhariev, the fact that only the more able members of the population are enjoying new-found prosperity does not appear to have given rise to envy. According to him, "the assertion is that people will not enter the rich life all at the same time, i.e. some will get rich earlier, others later." Zakhariev quotes a sentence from the decisions of the last party plenum: "The Chinese Government will continue to encourage certain people to become rich before others, before general prosperity is achieved."

In conclusion, Zakhariev does not fail to note that "the aspiration for riches undoubtedly also contains negative tendencies," which are evidenced by "the frequent press reports of corruption, misuse of public money and of individuals feathering their own nests." "The greed for money can lead to strains in relations between people and to crime," warns Zakhariev. In addition, Zakhariev notes that "the excessive deepening of differences in Chinese society may give rise to a certain social tension, to which certain circles within the CPC are turning their attention."

DAILY EVALUATES ALBANIAN WORKERS' PARTY CONGRESS

AU281824 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 26 Nov 86 p 5

[Aleksnadur Boyanov article: "Wish For a Development of Relations"]

[Text] The Ninth AWP Congress was held from 3 to 8 November 1986. The congress approved the accountability report of the AWP Central Committee, as well as the report of the Control-Auditing Committee read by Ramiz Alia, first secretary of the AWP Central Committee. It also adopted directives on the development of the economy and culture of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania during the Eighth 5-Year Plan period (1985-1990). Leading party organs were elected. Ramiz Alia was reelected to the post of first secretary of the AWP Central Committee.

What are the characteristic traits of the postulates contained in the congress documents pertaining to the further development of the country's economy and to the role as well as the tasks of the AWP?

We are impressed by the realistic and critical character of the accountability report as well as of the majority of statements. The approach of frankly pointing out weaknesses and the struggle to overcome them through basic, well-founded, and constructive criticism appeared as early as during the pre-congress period, especially during the numerous visits paid by Ramiz Alia, first secretary of the AWP Central Committee, to different regions and provinces in the country and during his meetings with party and economic activists and with workers collectives.

The report read by Ramiz Alia, which was entitled "On the Activities of the AWP and On Its Future Tasks," pointed out as a task of primary importance the efforts to accelerate industrial development. Industrial production is envisaged to increase by 31 percent by 1990 and agricultural production is envisaged to increase by approximately 37 percent during the same period. Social production will increase between 30 and 31 percent during the forthcoming 5-year plan period. The Albanian economy is expected to develop by an average annual rate varying between 5 and 7 percent. In order to achieve these ambitious but feasible plans, important changes are envisaged in the economic structure. An increase of reserve funds and an expansion of mass consumer goods production are also planned. As Ramiz Alia pointed out, the

share of the national income envisaged for accumulation will attain 28 per cent, while the share of consumption will approximately double as compared with the growth of the population. A considerable increase in the real incomes of cooperative farmers and in the social consumption funds is envisaged.

The accountability report devoted great attention to the necessity of improving economic management in terms of perfection, intensification of control, increasing labor productivity, improving efficiency and discipline, and intensification of moral and material incentives. Emphasis was placed on the request for active struggle against manifestations of formalism, cliches, and standard behavior in the work of the party; on the struggle against red tape, technocracy, and excessively bureaucratic management; and against the substitution of close human contacts in the party's work with masses by mere rhetoric, ordering about, and issuing instruction. The necessity was stressed to learn from the positive experience that has been accumulated in the work of the basic party organizations.

The congress devoted special attention to the contemporary international situation and to the tasks of Albania's foreign policy, as well as to certain problems of the international communist and workers' movement. The well-known stands of the AWP and of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania on these questions were confirmed. As a detachment of this movement, the AWP has the sovereign right to its opinion and is entitled its own views, and the statements made at the congress confirm the existing reality, which can be explained by the complexity and by the problems existing in socialist, international relations, as well as by the different conditions in which individual parties have been placed and are functioning. This opinion can also be explained by certain features [nasloeniya] stemming from a subjectivist approach and so forth.

The view was expressed that the development of economic relations with different countries in the world is not only a means of achieving mutual economic advantage, but also represents a valuable contribution to the normal development of international relations.

In this context it is worth pointing out the statement contained in the accountability report about the growing trade exchange between the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the People's Republic of Bulgaria as well as the wish expressed for the normal development of inter-state relations on a mutually advantageous basis.

This postulate, contained in the basic congress document, is welcomed with satisfaction in Bulgaria, a country which has always expressed itself in favor of a development of relations with the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. It is gratifying that the AWP Congress expressed the usefulness of and mutual interest in these relations, which is in conformity with the traditional friendly feelings between the two fraternal peoples and in accordance with the positive traditions of mutual cooperation in the construction of socialism.

The decisions of the Ninth AWP Congress will undoubtedly mobilize the 147,000-strong army of Albanian Communists in implementing the directives set forth by the congress for the Eighth 5-Year Plan period, for selfless efforts in improving the material and cultural prosperity of the working people in socialist Albania.

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CSO: 2200/25

BCP GG GREETINGS MESSAGE TO SWEDISH CONGRESS

AU260508 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 8 Nov 86 p 5

[Report on greetings message of the BCP Central Committee to the 28th Congress of the Swedish Workers' Party-Communists, read on 7 November at the congress by Konstantin Atanasov, member of the BCP Central Committee and first deputy head of the BCP Central Committee Foreign Policy and International Relations Department].

[Text] The world continues to feel the impact of the meeting in Reykjavik between Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and Ronald Reagan, U.S. President, the message reads. The bold and open Soviet position, based on the principles of equality and equal security, and large-scale and perspective Soviet initiatives in all areas of disarmament were a concrete expression of a new political thinking and outlined the road toward solving the most topical problem of mankind--protecting world peace.

Today we are sitting in the hall in which the Stockholm Conference ended a few months ago. This conference's success was the result of the constructive spirit, political will, and mutual efforts of all participating states, the message of the Bulgarian communists reads. They express the hope that good sense will prevail also at the Vienna meeting, which just opened. In this context the message stresses the contribution of Sweden to preserving and strengthening the positive tendencies in international relations, the initiatives of the "Delhi Group of Six," the implementation of the ideas on a nuclear-free zone in the north, and the proposal on a nuclear-free corridor in central Europe, connected with the name of the tragically murdered Olof Palme.

Further on, the message points out that at the present moment the BCP and the entire Bulgarian people are struggling for the implementation of the 13th BCP Congress. It is stressed that Bulgaria, as a Balkan state, strives to cooperate in protecting peace, strengthening confidence and security, and maintaining and developing goodneighborly relations and cooperation with all states of the region. We pay special attention to the efforts to implement the idea of turning the Balkans into a nuclear-free zone, which was recently supplemented by the initiative to free the region of chemical weapons and to sign a treaty on the ecological defense of the peninsula, the message reads.

The message stresses that the BCP and the Bulgarian communists cherish a feeling of fraternal combat solidarity with the struggle of the Swedish communists for progressive transformations in all areas of Sweden's political, economic, and social development, and for peace, disarmament, and security in Europe and throughout the world.

In conclusion the message expresses confidence that relations between the two fraternal parties will continue to develop in future in the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

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CSO: 2200/25

BALEV, OTHERS MEET DANISH SDP DELEGATION

AU261632 Sofia BTA in English 1516 GMT 26 Nov 86

["On the Visit of Danish Social Democratic Party Delegation"--ABTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, November 26 (BTA)--A delegation of the Danish Social Democratic Party, led by the deputy chairman of the party Mr. Svend Auken, paid a visit to this country at the invitation of the CC of the BCP from November 24 through 26. Mr. Steen Christensen, Secretary General of the Danish Social Democratic Party, and Mr. Lase Budz [spelling of name as received], member of the chief leadership of the party, were also members of the delegation.

The delegation had meetings and talks with Mr. Milko Balev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CC of the BCP, and with Mr. Dimitur Stanishev and Mr. Emil Khristov, secretaries of the CC of the BCP, and was acquainted with industrial and cultural sites in Sofia.

The talks, which passed in a cordial and friendly atmosphere and in a spirit of sincerity and understanding, exchanged information on the activities of the two parties and discussed some topical issues of the international situation, as well as some aspects of the relations between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Kingdom of Denmark.

Special attention was paid to issues related to disarmament, security and cooperation in Europe and the World. The two sides noted with satisfaction that in spite of some differences which still remain the stands and the approaches of the two parties on the most important and topical issues of the preservation of peace, the overcoming of tension and the averting of the threat of a nuclear war, are close or coincide.

In connection with the Reykjavik summit, an emphasis was laid on the need for redoubled efforts towards a continued USSR-U.S. dialogue, as well as for going ahead with all East-West talks on security, disarmament and cooperation. The sides noted that a new political thinking and approach, based on the understanding that at present security can only be common, equal and reciprocal, are needed to halt the arms race on earth and to prevent it from spreading into outer space.

It was observed that small and medium-large states in Europe have a part of their own and a contribution of their own in the East-West dialogue. The initiatives for denuclearizing different parts of Europe and the world are increasingly topical.

The Bulgarian Communist Party commends the contribution of the Danish Social Democratic Party to the idea of establishing a Nordic nuclear-weapon-free zone. In this connection, the representatives of the two parties noted with interest and satisfaction the new steps and proposals concerning the nuclear-free status of northern Europe, announced recently by the Soviet Union.

The Danish Social Democratic Party expressed its approval and support for the efforts of the BCP and of the People's Republic of Bulgaria towards turning the Balkans into a nuclear- and chemical-weapon free zone. The importance was likewise pointed out of the idea of a nuclear-weapon-free corridor in central Europe, and the principles for its realisation, worked out by the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and the Social Democratic Party of Germany, were positively assessed.

The Bulgarian Communist Party and the Danish Social Democratic Party expressed their readiness to persevere in the promotion and activation of their contacts and relations in the interest of maintaining peace and security, for the sake of disarmament and of the mutually advantageous cooperation between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Kingdom of Denmark, to the benefit of the two countries' peoples. [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 1600 GMT on 26 November, in reporting the same item, adds the information: "Today, the delegation of the Danish Social Democratic Party led by Mr Svend Auken left Bulgaria."]

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CSO: 2200/25

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS SENDS GREETINGS TO PLO

AU282038 Sofia BTA in English 1906 GMT 28 Nov 86

[Text] Sofia, November 28 (BTA)--Bulgaria's Council of Ministers has cordially greeted the Palestinian resistance movement and the Palestinian people on the occasion of the international day of solidarity with the Arab people of Palestine, sincerely wishing them to win their hard struggle for the exercise of their inalienable rights to self-determination and to the establishment of an independent, free and democratic homeland of their own on their own land.

The message to the PLO emphasizes the Bulgarian people's solidarity with the Palestinian people's struggle against imperialism, Zionism and Marxism. Hope is expressed that the Palestinian resistance movement will manage to restore its unity and cohesion on a principled anti-imperialist, anti-Zionist and patriotic basis, that it will strengthen its unity of action with the progressive Arab forces. Bulgaria backs the actions of the Arab peoples, who are firmly and staunchly opposing the Israeli aggression, the plots of imperialism, Zionism and the reaction and who resist all attempts to draw the Arab countries into separate defeatist deals prejudicial to their vital national interests, the telegram says. It expresses a conviction that Bulgaria will persevere in her solidarity with the struggle of the Palestinian people and of the other Arab peoples for the establishment of a just and durable peace in the Middle East through the convocation of an international conference on the Middle East under United Nations auspices, to be attended by all parties concerned, including the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Arab people of Palestine.

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CSO: 2200/25

BCP DAILY ON PAKISTAN'S NUCLEAR ARMS CAPACITY

AU182012 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 13 Nov 86 p 4

[Article by Valeri Natan, RABOTNICHESKO DELO correspondent in Delhi:
"'Project 706' and Islamabad's Ambitions"--date not given]

[Text] Pakistan is in a position to begin producing nuclear weapons in only a few months--this is the view of a number of specialists which is expressed in the U.S. press. Quite recently the WASHINGTON POST wrote that in mid-September the testing of detonating mechanisms for nuclear bombs was carried out on Pakistani territory. According to the same newspaper, Pakistan has made a substantial step forward in mastering the uranium enrichment process and is already in possession of 93.5-percent enriched uranium at its nuclear installation in Kahuta [spelling of name as transliterated], while to produce a nuclear bomb 90 percent is needed.

The continuing militarization of Pakistan, as well as Islamabad's nuclear ambitions, which according to observers here have nothing in common with the peaceful use of nuclear energy, are giving rise to disquiet in India. The Indian press reminds us that as early as the start of the 1970's Pakistan began to show aspirations to obtaining nuclear arms. Furthermore, at that time Islamabad managed to procure equipment and technology necessary to produce an atomic bomb. "The Center for Atomic Energy Research for Peaceful Purposes" is the official name of the modern nuclear complex in Kahuta, where research work is being conducted in complete secrecy. This is one of the principal centers for the implementation in practice of the secret plan for the production of a Pakistani nuclear bomb, known under the code name of "Project 706."

"There are enough direct and indirect facts leading to the conclusion that Pakistan not only possesses the capability itself to produce nuclear bombs, but perhaps has already produced one," writes the Indian publicist V. Cholpa [spelling of name as transliterated] in his recently published book on Pakistan's nuclear arming and militarization. It is pointed out in the book that on the territory of Pakistan there exist three large centers at which conditions have been created for producing nuclear charges--Kahuta, Sihala, [spelling of names as transliterated] and the top secret laboratory "New Labs." Construction of a factory to produce components for nuclear weapons is nearing completion in Chashma [spelling as transliterated]. According to specialists this plant will have an annual production capacity of 20-40 nuclear

devices. The Islamabad Regime is doing everything possible to also acquire a modern nuclear-weapon delivery system. An agreement was signed with the West German firm of OTRAG, under which the Pakistan Army will receive a large shipment of medium-range carrier missiles. Provision is also being made for Pakistani plants to assemble missiles from components manufactured by OTRAG, and for Pakistan gradually to change over to production of its own missiles. These missiles will be fitted both with nuclear and conventional warheads.

All these facts, as well as the results from the last visit of Caspar Weinberger, the U.S. defense secretary, during which the details were agreed for the deliveries of ultramodern American military hardware to the Pakistan Army, provide evidence that the White House is counting on Pakistan in the implementation of its neoglobalistic plans in the South Asia region and in the zone of the Indian Ocean. This is precisely the reason why Washington fails to pay attention to the numerous proofs and alarming facts which show that Pakistan is ready to cross the "forbidden threshold" of the production of a nuclear bomb. The U.S. Administration has deleted Pakistan from the list of countries to which the Symington Amendment, which bans military deliveries to states that produce or conduct tests to produce nuclear weapons, applies. Thus, the door was opened for the provision of military-economic aid to Pakistan totalling 4 billion dollars. It is for this very reason that Washington is closing its eyes to the risk arising from the practical realization of "project 706," which can have serious consequences not only for the situation in the Indian subcontinent, but also for world peace.

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CSO: 2200/25

POLITICS

BULGARIA

TRADE AGREEMENT SIGNED WITH INDONESIA

AU251526 Sofia BTA in English 1425 GMT 25 Nov 86

["Bulgaria and Indonesia Promote Bilateral Trade"--BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, November 25 (BTA)--The two day talks between the ministers of trade of Bulgaria and Indonesia, Mr Khristo Khristov and Mr Rachmat Saleh, ended with the reaching of concrete agreements which will help liven up the trade between the two countries. The trade agreement for the 1987-1989 period envisages a trade exchange for over 40 million dollars.

Bulgaria will import rubber, tin, coffee, spices, timber and consumer goods and will export electrical appliances, machine tools, medicines and chemicals.

The Indonesian minister told a BTA reporter about his satisfaction with the results. "The talks," he said, "were held in an atmosphere of mutual understanding and with a willingness to develop the bilateral trade. There were practically no problems between us." This agreement, according to him, will help increase the bilateral trade by several times during the next two years.

Mr Rachmat Saleh was received by Mr Andrey Lukanov, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers. He visited a number of industrial enterprises and had meetings with representatives of economic and foreign trade organizations.

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CSO: 2200/25

FORMER DEPUTY ON PRESSURE AGAINST TURKS

AU271627 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 27 Nov 86 p 2

[P.M. report: "Escaped Turk Complains of Pressure Against Minority in Sofia"]

[Text] Vienna--The conflict between Ankara and Sofia about the forcible Bulgarization of the Turkish minority has entered a new stage. The Turkish embassy in Vienna has recently published the letter of a former deputy from Sofia who had escaped across the border this summer. In this letter Lubomir Aleksiev, "whose correct name is Khalil Akhmedov Ibishev," describes how an open letter to Turkish premier Turgut Ozal came into being.

In October 1985, Aleksiev/Ibishev says, he was summoned to a session of the National Council of the National Front in Sofia. At the meeting, which was attended by some 50 members of the Turkish minority, Fahred in Khalilov (converted to Bulgarian Kamen Kalinov) read the message to Ozal prepared in advance. "It was said there that we had changed our names voluntarily, that we regarded ourselves as genuine Bulgarians and are happy to live in Bulgaria, and that the Turks should mind their own business and should not interfere in our internal affairs."

The deputy feared measures of persecution against the Turkish minority or even against his family and recalled that he had already once been threatened by the Varna district committee. He now states that he, like the other participants in the meeting, signed the open letter to Ozal "under pressure."

/7051

CSO: 2200/25

BALEV GREETES ARGENTINE CP CONGRESS

AU181321 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 6 Nov 86 p 5

[Greetings message of the BCP Central Committee to the 16th Congress of the Communist Party of Argentina, delivered by Milko Balev, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, leader of the Bulgarian delegation, at the opening of the congress on 5 November in Buenos Aires]

[Text] It is with great emotion that I am fulfilling the assignment of the BCP Central Committee and the personal assignment of Comrade Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee, to convey to the delegates at the 16th Congress of the Communist Party of Argentina the ardent, comradely greetings of the Bulgarian communists and of all working people in the People's Republic of Bulgaria, as well as their most cordial wishes for fruitful and successful work at your congress.

We, the Bulgarian communists, are well acquainted with the heroic development of the Communist Party of Argentina, the oldest detachment of the communist movement in Latin America--which for over seven decades has been waging an indefatigable struggle in defense of the vital interests of the workers class and of all working people against imperialism, and for expanding and intensifying the democratic freedoms, for peace, progress, and socialism.

We highly appreciate the loyalty of the Communist Party of Argentina to the glorious Marxist-Leninist teaching, its active internationalism, its constant efforts to consolidate the unity of the Latin American and international communist movement.

Despite the fact that thousands of kilometers separate our two countries, we are developing active, fraternal relations, which we constantly try to expand and intensify on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. We are proud of the fact that relations between Bulgarian and Argentine communists are based on profound historical roots. They go back to the joint work between Georgi Dimitrov, the great son of the Bulgarian people, and Victorio Codovilla, as well as Rodolfo Chioldi, the founders of your party. These relations manifested themselves in the activities of numerous Bulgarian emigres, who joined your party considering it a protector of the working people's rights to a better life.

Your congress is convened at an important stage in the development of Argentina. The several years of power exerted in your country by the extreme rightwing reactionary forces belong to the past. The Communist Party of Argentina earned great credit in overthrowing the dictatorship and we are happy that it has the opportunity to openly and freely hold its high forum and to implement its active and expanded mass political work among the workers class and the other strata of working people, to struggle to rally all democratic and progressive forces in the Front of National and Social Liberation.

We listened with great interest to the accountability report submitted by your Central Committee and read by Comrade Athos Fava, the general secretary, the experienced leader of the Communist Party of Argentina, and of the working people in your country, the outstanding figure of the international communist and workers movement. This document contains a profound and realistic evaluation of the difficult path covered by the party in recent years.

With unconcealed interest we observe the innovative process which has involved your party and we admire your courage and your innovative spirit in unmasking all shortcomings and in seeking new paths and solutions for the transformation of your party into a genuine vanguard of the workers class and of the working people. Only a strong party, confident of its cadres and loyal to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, is capable of boldly facing its future as you are doing.

We live in a stormy period of revolutionary innovations throughout the world. This innovative process is taking place in Latin America as well, where communists, patriotic, and democratic forces stand in the front ranks of the struggle.

Socialism is successfully developing on the territory of Cuba. Nicaragua is resolutely defending the achievements of democratic revolution and its own national independence. The struggle waged by the peoples of El Salvador, Guatemala, and Chile is increasingly gathering strength. The democratic processes are intensified in Brazil and Uruguay, as well as in your country, of course.

At the same time, as a result of the aggressive course of confrontation and excessive rearmament, conducted by American imperialism and its allies, the international situation is becoming increasingly complicated.

However, positive trends, as well, have recently been emerging in our world filled with incredible dangers of a devastating nuclear disaster. These positive trends are proceeding with great difficulty and numerous efforts are still necessary in order to achieve real results in the struggle for the consolidation of peace.

The meeting held between Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan in Reykjavik truly failed to justify the hopes of peaceloving mankind, but this

was the fault of the American side, and nevertheless, a qualitatively new situation was created in the world as a result of this meeting, the struggle for nuclear disarmament was elevated to a higher stage. The extensive proposals of compromise submitted by the Soviet Union made the achievement of agreements possible in important areas, such as on the question of reducing and, subsequently, eliminating strategic offensive weapons and of eliminating medium range missiles in Europe.

It is necessary for the United States and the other NATO member-states today to become well aware of the new situation, it is their turn now to seek new constructive paths and solutions, to manifest their sense of realism and responsibility. The dialogue must not be interrupted. The world expects this dialogue to continue and to produce tangible results. The basic reality of our epoch is the fact that in our era the two systems can either live together, or perish together, which means survival or annihilation for all mankind. This is why we will continue to struggle for the establishment of a historic, new peace front and for the implementation of the program on full elimination of nuclear and other types of mass destruction weapons by the end of this century, which was submitted by the Soviet Union.

Our party and state will continue to devote their efforts to the consolidation of peace and cooperation in the Balkans and in Europe, as well as throughout the world. In light of the extensive initiatives adopted by the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact member-states, the importance of our country's proposal on the establishment of a zone free of nuclear and chemical weapons in the Balkans becomes increasingly important.

We highly appreciate Argentina's activities in cooperation with the other states of the "Delhi Group of Six" in seeking paths to avert nuclear disaster, in its struggle to transform the South Atlantic into a zone of peace and cooperation, for the peaceful settlement of the Malvinas problem according to the UN resolutions. We also support the efforts of Argentina and the other Latin American countries to reorganize international economic relations on a democratic and just basis, likely to help solve the problem of unbearable foreign debts.

Under the circumstances of a political and labor upsurge, the working people in the People's Republic of Bulgaria today are implementing the decisions of the 13th BCP Congress. We are justifiably calling this congress a historic congress, because it specified and expanded the party's program for the further construction of a developed socialism, under the new domestic and international circumstances, because it mapped out a long-time strategy in connection with the comprehensive, new upsurge of the People's Republic of Bulgaria. The main issue in our country today is the implementation of a qualitatively new growth in all sectors of social life, and for this purpose we are applying the scientific-technical revolution, we are expanding our socialist democracy, and we are increasingly satisfying the social and cultural needs of our people. The considerable material and intellectual potential of socialist Bulgaria, as well as the cohesion of the Bulgarian working people, rallied around the Leninist April line of our BCP, and around its

Central Committee, headed by Comrade Todor Zhivkov, its general secretary, justify our optimism and confidence in the future.

I would like to assure you, dear Argentine friends, that the BCP, in solving the problems of socioeconomic development in Bulgaria, never has, even for a moment, forgotten its international obligations toward its brothers in class and ideas. Today again, we are justified in repeating the words of Todor Zhivkov, our general secretary: "The BCP, the party of Georgi Dimitrov, will always be loyal to the fraternity of communists from all over the world." The communists of Argentina can always rely upon the comradeship, solidarity, and support of the Bulgarian communists, because this is in the interest of both the Bulgarian and Argentine people, in the interest of peace, progress, and socialism, throughout the world!

Long live the Communist Party of Argentina!

Long live its 16th congress!

May the cause of peace and progress live in eternity!

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CSO: 2200/25

DEPUTY DEFENSE MINISTER ON UPDATING CIVIL DEFENSE

AU201317 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 17 Nov 86 p 3

[Interview given by Colonel Tencho Papazov, commander of the Civil Defense Administration of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and deputy minister of national defense, to Romyana Simeonova--place and date not given]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted containing Col Gen Papazov's description of the activity of the Civil Defense schools and courses and the efforts to be made in future to improve the study process related to Civil Defense.]

[Simeonova] The 13th BCP Congress determined the decisive role of the scientific-technical revolution in facilitating far-reaching qualitative changes in all areas of our life. How does the new technological thought penetrate the Civil Defense units?

[Papazov] The trends outlined by the party congress fully apply to the Civil Defense system. Our task now is to organize our work in such a way as will allow us to actively incorporate in the Civil defense framework scientific-research units from all branches of the national economy, and from the social and intellectual spheres. In other words, to incorporate the country's entire scientific potential in Civil Defense.

We are striving to ensure that the themes and issues studied by the Civil Defense system will contribute to increasing the populations' defense and strengthen the stability of the national economy in war and peace, and will be of assistance in cases of earthquakes, floods, fires, major industrial accidents, and so forth.

Automation of the Civil Defense Administration is an appropriate field for introducing scientific-technical progress. The necessary and objective preconditions exist, such as highly qualified cadres in all administrative units, and modern technological equipment. What we need is programs and software for the processes and for perfecting the work methods of the administration's organs. We are already using an automatic warning system for the population to signal an enemy attack, or radioactive and chemical contamination.

The Civil Defense command is now concentrating on changing the views, attitudes, and approach of the administrative units, so that there is less theoretical and more practical work to introduce the achievements of the scientific-technical progress.

POLITBURO ADOPTS DECISION TO CURB ALCOHOL PRODUCTION, USE

AU201211 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 18 Nov 86 pp 1, 6

[Report on decision adopted on restricting production and consumption of alcoholic drinks at the 17 November session of the Politburo of the BCP Central Committee: "In the Politburo of the BCP Central Committee"]

[Text] The Politburo of the BCP Central Committee discussed and adopted a decision on restricting the use of alcohol.

The fight against alcoholism and the consolidation of sobriety as a standard of life have always been an invariable concern of the BCP, the decision emphasizes. During the years of popular power the BCP's policy in this field was outlined and implemented in practice in a number of decisions of the Central Committee and the government. These decisions clearly set out the tasks and obligations of the different organs and organizations regarding curbing the consumption of alcohol. In accordance with this policy, important economic, social, administrative, health, educational, and other measures have been implemented in Bulgaria in order to eliminate the conditions and premises which lead to alcohol abuse. Entire labor collectives, youth brigades, school classes, courses of students, and army units are adopting active teetotal behavior.

At the same time, researches show that many of the adopted measures to restrict the production, sale, and consumption of alcoholic beverages are not being carried out.

A large number of state and economic organs and organizations, governed by narrow departmental interests and crude financial considerations, are not only not following the policy to reduce the production and sale of alcoholic beverages, but are in essence stimulating their growth. Among the instructions which are not being observed are: not to provide for an increase in the planned sale of alcoholic beverages in the country; that existing establishments for the sale and consumption of alcoholic drinks in the vicinity of schools, military units, hospitals, industrial enterprises, young people's, workers' and schoolchildren's hostels, and brigadier camps should be closed, and no new ones opened; and that alcohol should not be sold to children and minors, intoxicated persons, and drivers of motor vehicles during their working hours.

A number of social organs and organizations, and scientific, cultural, and health institutes are not implementing systematic and active action to educate the workers, and especially the younger generation, in a spirit of sobriety. Their propaganda-publicizing and educational activity against alcohol is in very many cases superficial and unconvincing, and in the nature of shortlived campaigns, remaining only on paper [aktsionen i prosvetitel-skil]. Participation in this activity by the family and the school, by the health workers, and the leaderships of the labor collectives is not full and committed. The mass media's anti-alcohol propaganda is inadequate. Considerable numbers of administrative and economic leaders, youth and other social workers, parents, teachers, and doctors do not provide personal examples of sobriety.

It is chiefly for these reasons that unfavorable tendencies which give rise to alarm have appeared in the production and sale of alcoholic beverages in recent years: The consumption of alcoholic drinks is growing, and the increase in the use of concentrated drinks with a high alcohol content is especially worrying; the numbers of persons regularly consuming alcoholic drinks and of persons suffering from alcoholism are growing; everyday alcoholism and the abuse of alcohol for various motives are taking root. And, what is most worrying, the use of alcohol among the youth is expanding.

These negative phenomena, and particularly the use of concentrated alcohol, are alien to the nature and traditions of our people. The country's interests, the interests of every family and of every citizen demand that an uncompromising struggle should be waged against alcoholism and drunkenness, and broad, effective anti-alcohol propaganda should be developed, that the habit of drinking should resolutely be overcome, and that the production and consumption of alcoholic beverages, especially concentrated alcoholic beverages, should be decisively curbed. The severity of the sanctions of the event of the nonobservance of these restrictions and prohibitions must be increased.

Having taken all the above into consideration, the Politburo of the BCP Central Committee has decided to mount a broad offensive campaign among all sections of the population to restrict the consumption of alcoholic beverages, and especially of those with a high percentage of alcohol, making the fullest possible use for this purpose of economic, ideological, educational, legislative, administrative, and other measures. This campaign is a task for the whole nation, and is of great importance for present-day and future Bulgaria. The party, state, economic, and social organs and organizations, the labor collectives, the school and the family, the mass media, and the whole of our society are to concern themselves with the implementation of this campaign in the most direct manner. Of primary concern to everyone is the complete elimination of the consumption of alcoholic beverages by juveniles and the youth; the substantial restriction of the consumption of alcoholic beverages, and especially of concentrated alcoholic drinks by adults; and the resolute eradication of manifestations of drunkenness and alcoholism.

The Politburo assesses as unsatisfactory the work carried out hitherto by the state and economic organs and organizations on conducting the party's policy for education of the workers and the youth in a spirit of sobriety, and instructs them to undertake, within a 2-month period, effective practical measures for the strictest observance of the prohibitions and restrictions--established by party and government decisions--on the production, sale, and consumption of alcoholic beverages. The Council of Ministers is ordered to bring organs and officials to task by administrative and financial sanctions for failure to carry out the instructions for the struggle against alcoholism, and to adopt an appropriate decree with provisions for the following: for an approximately 10-percent annual reduction (based on absolute alcohol) in the production of alcoholic beverages in the social sector for the domestic market, mainly at the expense of concentrated alcoholic beverages, in the plans for socioeconomic development; for an increase, from 1 June 1987, in the taxes on plum brandies produced privately over and above the established limits [normativi]; for the numbers of vats and stills for alcoholic drinks to be reduced and for the strictest control to be introduced on the quantities produced; for the use of sugar to be banned in the production of wine and plum brandy in the social sector (apart from cases where it is required by the technology or under the export contracts concluded) and in the private sector; for the import of concentrated alcoholic beverages to be sharply reduced; for the sale of alcoholic beverages to be excluded from the state plan for commodity turnover and from the mechanism for providing labor incentives for the trace workers; for a reduction in the substantial number of establishments in the trading network where alcoholic drinks, especially concentrated ones, may be purchased; for a reduction in the numbers of cocktail bars, taverns, and public houses, and for a considerable number of them to be converted into coffee shops, snackbars, beerhalls, and other catering establishments; and for the prohibition of the consumption of all forms of alcoholic beverages (with the exception of beer) in "beer-gill" establishments and snackbars. In coffee shops, buffets, cafeterias, discotheques, clubs, houses of culture, and health resort establishments there is to be a ban on the sale of alcoholic beverages, including beer; concentrated alcoholic drinks are not to be served at official receptions, luncheons, dinners, and cocktail parties, and are not to be sold at holiday centers; and the use of alcoholic beverages is not to be permitted in parks, gardens, stadiums, or among labor brigades, on hikes, and so forth.

It is envisaged that the following penalties are to be imposed in addition to the established sanctions for nonobservance of the restrictions on the production, sale, and consumption of alcoholic beverages: for schoolchildren using alcohol--expulsion from school; and for students--cancellation of their grants, eviction from their hostel, and temporary or permanent exclusion from all higher education establishments; for workers and employees reporting for duty in an intoxicated state--also a stoppage of their monthly labor remuneration, which is to be paid to their families; for leaders of state, economic, and social organs and organizations at all levels, leaders of enterprises, institutions, scientific and cultural institutes, teachers, doctors, and other officials, using alcohol during working hours--both demotion and dismissal from their posts; for producers of alcohol from private businesses,

in cases of contravention of the established law--confiscation of the alcohol, sequestration of the land for private use, and criminal prosecution; for citizens producing alcohol from purchased fruit and grapes--the imposition of fines, confiscation of the alcohol, and criminal prosecution.

The Council of Ministers is instructed to adopt measures to improve the structure of the vine and fruit plantations; to encourage the full utilization of the grape and fruit harvest in the fresh state and in the form of compotes, nectars, syrups, alcohol-free wines, pectin, and dried fruits; and, from 1 January 1987, to increase the quantities, improve the quality, and expand the range of soft drinks (natural fruit drinks, vegetable and grape juices, mineral waters, millet ale, yoghurt drinks, carbonated herb and dairy-fruit drinks, and alcohol-free beer) with the aim of increasing their consumption to 90-100 liters per capita by 1990; and requiring nonalcoholic drinks to be sold obligatorily in all forms of food shops.

Emphasis is laid on the great role and responsibility of the Ministry of Public Health and the Ministry of National Education and their departments in implementing the decision.

The Fatherland Front National Council, the Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions, the Central Committee of the Dimitrov Komsomol, the Central Council of the Bulgarian Union for Physical Education and Sport, the Central Council of the Bulgarian Union of Tourism, the National Committee for Teetotalism, the Republican Council of the G. Kirkov Society for the Propagation of Scientific Knowledge, and the leaderships of the other social organizations and movements and their sections are recommended to mount a broad, offensive, and effective propaganda-explanatory and educational campaign on the harm caused by the use of alcohol, and to cultivate sobriety in the consciousness and conduct of the workers, and especially the youth; they are also recommended to implement effective public control on the state and economic organs and organizations to ensure that they consistently follow the party's line relating to limiting the consumption of alcohol and eliminating the conclusions giving rise to its abuse.

The party, state, and social organs and organizations are ordered to undertake coordinate measures for the further development and consolidation of the teetotal movement. Special concern is to be devoted to activating and spreading the movement in the schools, higher education institutions, and the youth labor collectives.

The Standing Board of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union is invited to take its own measures for the work of the associations against alcohol abuse.

The Fatherland Front National Council and the Fatherland Front organizations, in close collaboration with the Komsomol and the trade unions, are to develop a broad, nationwide movement for sobriety.

Within the system of the Fatherland Front, the National Committee and the local committees for teetotalism are to expand their own activities to educate the workers and youth in a spirit of sobriety.

The mass media are to mount a much more effective campaign against alcohol to yield real results.

It is considered appropriate to organize systematic scientific research to discover the reasons that lead to the use of alcohol and into its harmful effects on human health and in the different spheres of social life.

The organs of the national system of control, in accordance with the authorities invested in them and their initiative in defending the law, are to ensure the strictest state, financial, internal departmental, and social control in order to speedily detect, expose, and bring to administrative, financial, and penal account the physical and legal persons who contravene the legal orders relating to the production of, trade in, and consumption of alcoholic beverages, and primarily of those with a high alcoholic content, paying special attention to speculation in such products.

The decision stressed that the party committees and organizations should directly head the campaign to restrict the production of, trade in, and consumption of alcoholic beverages, resolutely provide political leadership, intensify the party control on the activity of the state, economic, and social organs and organizations, and display an uncompromising attitude toward infringements of the party and state policy on sobriety; they are to set a personal example and display the vanguard role of Communists in the campaign for sobriety. Communists, whichever position they occupy, who do not follow through the party and governmental decisions to restrict the production of, trade in, and consumption of alcoholic beverages are to be punished with all the severity of the BCP Statute, including dismissal from responsible posts and expulsion from the party.

The Politburo of the BCP Central Committee expresses confidence that the measures undertaken in the struggle against the abuse of alcohol will be supported by the youth and the workers and that the fulfillment of these measures by each and everyone will raise to a qualitatively new level the education of the people in a spirit of sobriety, and will help to consolidate the socialist way of life.

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CSO: 2200/25

DAILY ON CONSUMER SERVICES; READERS POLLED

AU292215 [Editorial Report] Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian on 27 November devotes the whole of page 2 to an investigation of public catering and consumer services, under the general heading "People's Control in Action," with reports and articles on shortcomings in consumer services in both Sofia and the Bulgarian provinces.

Valentin Stoev, special correspondent in Chervan Bryag, in a 1,200-word article entitled "Unpaid Bills in Public Catering," complains of lack of variety in the menus in restaurants and canteens in this small town, and the total absence of dietary dishes.

An 800-word article by Engineer Stefan Trashliev criticizes the poor telephone communications in Sofia, which he blames both on technical shortcomings and staff inefficiency.

Boris Nikolov's 300-word commentary is headlined "Look for the Private Tradesman." Nikolov points out that certain articles and spare parts in short supply can be obtained only from private craftsmen and repairmen, and that even the state-owned workshops direct clients to the former.

An unattributed 1000-word report entitled "Formal Replies" criticizes the unsatisfactory responses by managers and staff of public enterprises to consumer complaints and to enquiries made by the daily's own editorial staff on consumers' behalf, noting that "many of the replies are full of cliches and intentionally try to gloss over shortcomings and the true reasons for them."

The only positive article on the whole page is a 300-word report by Ruse correspondent Mikhail Keremidchiev, which describes the setting up and expansion of a "street of services" in the city, containing various repair and craft shops, an information bureau for consumers, and other public services.

At the foot of page 2 there is a "Reader's Questionnaire" form with the following introduction and contents:

"Different forms of services are more and more forming part of modern life. They are needed in order to live in an up-to-date manner and to save one's time and nerves.

"This page will be devoted to reporting on the activities which aid everyday life, and on their achievements and weaknesses. No doubt you also encounter these, so we offer this Reader's Questionnaire":

"1. What, in your view, are the principal defects of public services in the area where you live?

"2. Have you ever looked for a certain type of service and failed to obtain it? Please specify:

"3. Which positive aspects of services in your view make people's lives easier, or could do so?

"4. Which type of service do you think should be investigated by our editorial office?"

The reader is then invited to give his/her name, address, age, and job and to send in the form. The daily states that the results of the poll will be analyzed and checks made on the problems raised by readers.

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CSO: 2200/25

BRIEFS

YORDANOV-LEF DELEGATION TO UK--On 1 December a Bulgarian cultural delegation led by Georgi Yordanov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the Intellectual Development Council, departed for Great Britain. The delegation will attend the opening of the "Thracean Treasure" exhibition in the British Museum, organized by the Committee on Culture and the Lyudmila Zhivkova International Foundation, and will take part in a meeting of the foundation's bureau. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 1 Dec 86 AU] /7051

STANISHEV MEETS JORDAN CP OFFICIAL--Sofia, November 27 (BTA)--Mr Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the CC of the BCP, had a meeting with Mr Yakub Zayadin [spelling as received], deputy first secretary of the CC of the Jordan Communist Party. During the meeting the two sides stressed the great importance of the initiatives of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries for halting the arms race, for eliminating nuclear weapons and establishing a comprehensive system of international security. It was emphasized that durable peace may be achieved in the Middle East only on the basis of a comprehensive and just political settlement of the whole complex of problems in this part of the world. The two sides reaffirmed the readiness of the BCP and the Jordan Communist Party to continue to develop their cooperation on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and the principles of proletarian internationalism. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1830 GMT 27 Nov 86 AU] /7051

ATANASOV RECEIVES INDONESIAN MINISTER--Sofia, November 23 (BTA)--Mr Georgi Atanassov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, received Mr Rakhmat Saleh, minister of trade of Indonesia. In a businesslike atmosphere, the sides stressed the desire of Bulgaria and Indonesia to promote their trade and economic relations. [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 1830 GMT on 24 November adds: "Talks between the trade delegations of Bulgaria and Indonesia opened in Sofia today. The Indonesian delegation is headed by Rakhmat Saleh, minister of trade of Indonesia, and the Bulgarian delegation is headed by Khristo Khristov, minister of trade."] [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1901 GMT 24 Nov 86 AU] /7051

KUBADINSKI AT ALBANIAN RECEPTION--Sofia, November 27 (BTA)--Mr Baksim Rama, charge d'affaires of Albania, gave a reception tonight on the occasion of his country's national holiday. Mr Pencho Kubadinski, chairman of the National Council of the Fatherland Front organization; Mr Georgi Dzhagarov, vice president of the State Council; Mr Khristo Khristov, minister of trade, deputy ministers and other officials attended the reception. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 2025 GMT 27 Nov 86 AU] /7051

LIFT-TRUCK PLANT IN ALGERIA--Sofia, November 13 (BTA)--A plant for manufacturing ICE [internal-combustion-engine-powered] and electric trucks will be built in Algeria with Bulgarian assistance. A contract to that effect was signed here today. Bulgaria will supply the complete technical documentation, all specific machines and equipment and will help in the training of the personnel. The plant's output will be 3,000 units a year. The trucks come in 4 versions, with lifting capabilities between 1.6 and 6.3 tons. The cooperation between the two countries in this field will be continued in the future with the production of even more advanced machines. This is the first agreement of technical cooperation to be signed between the two countries in the field of mechanical engineering. Bulgaria has so far helped Algeria build a joinery and an ore dressing factory as well as several agricultural projects. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1748 GMT 13 Nov 86 AU] /7051

SCIENTIFIC DISCUSSION IN SOFIA--An international symposium opened in Sofia yesterday on the subject "Problems of the Unity of Left Wing Forces in the Developing Countries," organized by the Institute of International Relations and Socialist Integration attached to the Presidium of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, within the framework of the "Economic Policy of the Developing Countries" program attached to the academies of sciences from the socialist countries. Scholars from the USSR, the GDR, the CSSR, Hungary, Poland, Cuba, and Bulgaria are taking part in the symposium. Certain important problems of building up the unity of anti-imperialist forces in the developing countries for their economic and social progress were discussed. These problems submitted to lively, scientific debates. [Text] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 19 Nov 86 p 2 AU] /7051

SOCIALIST COUNTRIES' SPECIALISTS CONFERENCE--A conference of specialists on tractor and agricultural machine building industry opened in Varna yesterday. It is attended by delegates from Bulgaria, the GDR, Cuba, Poland, the Soviet Union, Hungary, the CSSR, and Yugoslavia. A program on the development of multilateral specialization and coordination in agricultural machines production for the period up to 2000 will be adopted at the conference. Proposals will be discussed for scientific-technical cooperation processes in agriculture. [Text] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 19 Nov 86 p 8 AU] /7051

CSO: 2200/25

DOHLUS ADDRESSES GOSR COMMEMORATIVE EVENT

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 7 Nov 86 pp 3-4

[Speech by Horst Dohlus, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and SED Central Committee Secretary for Party Organs at the celebration commemorating the 69th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution on 6 November 1986: "The Soviet Union Smoothed the Way Into a Peaceful and Humane Future for the Nations"]

[Text] Dear Comrade Erich Honecker!

Dear friends and comrades, dear guests!

Today we are jointly celebrating with all forces of progress and peace of the world the 69th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution [GOSR] in inseparable friendship and fraternal affinity with the Soviet people and their glorious Communist Party.

We celebrate this significant anniversary a few months after the 27th CPSU Congress and the 11th SED Congress. The inspiring prospects which they mapped out and which already reach into the year 2000, are based on the achievements of Red October and prove the constantly growing vital strength of its ideas.

November 7, 1917 will forever remain in mankind's memory. It marks the beginning of a new time, the beginning of the transition from capitalism to socialism, from exploitation of man by man to a social order in which man can really be man.

Proof of the Correctness of the Doctrine of Marx, Engels, and Lenin

By storming the Winter Palace, the revolutionary workers and peasants led by the party of the Bolsheviks opened the door to a new phase in world history. With the overthrow of the hated rule of the tsars and the establishment of the power of the workers and peasants, the working people of Russia implemented a fundamental change in their social life.

Through the GOSR they fundamentally changed the political and socioeconomic appearance of one-sixth of the earth under the leadership of the party of Lenin. The building of a new world started. By mastering enormous

difficulties and demonstrating an unparalleled heroism, a better--the socialist--society was set up on unexplored ways.

The achievement of political power and the strengthening of the first worker-peasant state, the victories on the fronts of the civil war, the smashing of the foreign military intervention, and the building of socialism set free revolutionary forces and energies for peace and socialism throughout the world. V. I. Lenin's words became true: "There will never be victory over a people in which the workers and peasants have seen, felt, and realized in their majority that they defend their own power, the soviet power, the power of the working people." (Footnote 1) (V. I. Lenin: "Address at the Conference of the Railwaymen of the Moscow Central Station," "Works," Vol 29, Dietz Publishing House, Berlin, 1961, p 308.)

The October Revolution provided peoples with the hope for a safe and peaceful future, for social and national liberation.

The development of events since the Red October of 1917 has conveyed mankind the irrefutable truth: There is no acceptable alternative to the world of socialism. The practice of socialism has provided the final proof of the correctness of the scientific doctrine of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, which has now become reality in states on four continents.

Today, based on great achievements, the people of the Soviet Union under the leadership of the party are again making great achievements in order to accelerate socioeconomic development in accordance with the resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress and to improve socialism in accordance with the plan and universally.

Addressing Moscow working people, Comrade Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and GDR State Council chairman, stressed: "The material and intellectual potential of the Soviet Union will grow to an enormous extent. This serves the well-being of the Soviet people and is, at the same time, of great importance for the international position of the Soviet Union and socialism in general." (Footnote 2) (Erich Honecker: "What Thaelmann Fought For, Has Become Reality in the GDR," in NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 4-5 Oct 1986, p 4.)

Dear friends and comrades!

We feel deeply committed to cordially congratulating the entire Soviet people, the party of Lenin, its Central Committee, and its general secretary, Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev, in close communist affinity on the 69th anniversary of the GOSR from our festive event of today in the capital of the socialist GDR. (prolonged applause)

We congratulate the millions of Soviet working people who are augmenting the wealth of their socialist home country through significant deeds in production, through pioneering achievements in science and technology, through

successes in all sectors of social life and who are making a decisive contribution strengthening world socialism and to securing peace.

Our greetings and special thanks go to the representatives of the glorious Soviet Army who are on guard for peace here in our socialist home country in close comradeship-in-arms with the national People's Army.

With the Flourishing of Socialism the Legacy of the October Revolution is Being Fulfilled

We will never forget that the sons and grandsons of Red October together with the fighters of the anti-Hitler coalition, liberated our peoples from the deepest misery and the most bitter disgrace in May 1945 and that they hoisted as soldiers of the Red Army the banner of victory over fascism on the Reichstag after bloody sacrificial fights. We will always honor the memory of the 20 million Soviet heroes who gave their lives for that. (strong applause)

With this historic deed of liberation by the Soviet Union, mankind was preserved from a reversion to barbarity and the path into a peaceful and human future was paved for the peoples.

With the flourishing of socialism in the Soviet Union, in the GDR, and in the entire socialist community, the legacy of the Soviet fighters of the Great Fatherland War, of the German antifascists, and the freedom fighters of many nations is being fulfilled, as well as the legacy of the Red Guards and revolutionary seamen who 69 years ago brought the socialist revolution to victory in Red Petrograd.

Dear friends and comrades!

With the GOSR a new chapter in mankind's history was opened.

The epoch-making element of the revolutionary transformation by the Russian workers and peasants was the decision on the question of power in favor of the workers class and its allies. It was the irrevocable elimination of capitalism's private ownership of the means of production and the solution of the questions concerning agriculture and nationalities. Above all, it created a completely new situation in the people's struggle for peace and against war.

It is the immortal achievement of V. I. Lenin and his comrades-in-arms that the working people of this huge country were shown the path from economic and intellectual chaos into a bright future.

In a historically short time the former economically backward Russia became an enormous industrial power which in many sectors took first place in the world due to the implementation of the 5-year plans. The peoples, earlier kept in ignorance, climbed the heights of education and culture. Science experienced an unparalleled upswing and made great pioneering achievements.

The enslaved and humiliated people of Russia became really free Soviet citizens determining their fate themselves. The tsarist prison of peoples became a true home for socialist peoples. The implemented right to self-determination produced a new type of relationship among them, the result of which was the Soviet people.

Signal for All Progressive Forces of the World

For the first time in history social safety and security, freedom and human dignity became reality for the working people.

The striving for autocracy aimed at aggression and war was replaced by a policy of peace. The call for peace--to all peoples of the world--became the fundamental doctrine of the new society.

Under the leadership of their Communist Party the working people of the great Soviet country put forth the example for the liberation of all mankind from war and slavery, from humiliation and ignorance, from hunger and misery.

Thus, the October Revolution became a signal for the international workers movement, for all progressive forces of the world.

At the same time, it started a new page in the international relations between the German and Russian revolutionaries and the entire communist and workers movement.

For the revolutionaries throughout the world, the young Soviet power was the bulwark of the international proletariat, the most important pillar in the struggle against war, exploitation, and reaction.

Since then, the attitude toward the Soviet Union has always been the decisive question, the touchstone for the loyalty to the cause of socialism, peace, and social progress.

It is an honor for the outstanding leaders of the German left, like Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, and Clara Zetkin, and it is an honor for the KPD that it founded our fraternal alliance with the party of the Bolsheviks and the firm friendship with the Soviet Union. As bold advocates of the ideas of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels they recognized that in the November days of 1917 world historic decisions had been taken.

Like a spark, Red October ignited a revolutionary fire in the masses. "For the first time," Ernst Thaelmann stated, "the proletariat seized power on 7 November 1917 and not just for a world historic second, but on a lasting basis. For the first time the proletariat did not just win a fight, but an entire war...against the exploiters throughout the world." (Footnote 3) (Ernst Thaelmann: "The 7th of November--a New Epoch in World History," in "On Proletarian Internationalism," Leipzig, 1977, page 17.)

Fraternal Alliance Is a Central Task and Pledge of Our Successes

We are proud and grateful that the Soviet Communists and the people of the Soviet country highly appreciate the life and struggle of Ernst Thaelmann, as expressed with the building and the moving dedication of the Thaelmann monument in Moscow by Comrades Mikhail Gorbachev and Erich Honecker a few weeks ago.

From generation to generation we hand on the most important experience of the German Communists: The friendship with the Soviet Union is the vital basis of our society; it is the precondition for our happy present and guarantees a peaceful and purposeful future.

The fraternal affinity with the CPSU and the USSR is a great revolutionary achievement and a matter close to the hearts of our people; it is and will remain the pledge of our successes.

Also in the future this alliance will provide the strength to jointly master the new tasks pointing into the future. There is nothing in this world that can shake our friendship, our fraternal alliance with the party and country of Lenin! (prolonged, strong applause)

Dear friends and comrades!

The 69 years of the first socialist country of the world impressively document: The Soviet Union and peace, socialism and peace are inseparably linked. Over all these years the Soviet Union has stood its test as a peace power.

When on 7 November 1917 the "Aurora" fired its salvoes, the fight against the biggest scourge of mankind--war--entered a new phase. Red October won under the slogans of the struggle for work and peace, for bread and freedom.

V. I. Lenin always stressed that the liberation of the Russian peoples from the imperialist war as one of the biggest achievements of the party of the Bolsheviks. Under its leadership the liberated workers and peasants began to build a society which, for the first time in the world, made peace its supreme external principle in the spirit of Karl Marx, because work is its dominating internal principle.

Until then history had witnessed quite a few extensive declarations by states and politicians on securing peace. However, the Soviet power not only proclaimed the Peace Decree, but also started to successfully implement it.

Fought by the forces of the old world, not respected by the imperialist states, threatened by economic war and open military intervention, the CPSU and the Soviet Government pursued a principled and flexible course in its international policy. It aimed at overcoming the hostile climate in international relations caused by the imperialist powers.

The Soviet power unswervingly fought for such international relations that serve the strengthening of peace and trust between the peoples and states. It consistently supports the policy of peaceful coexistence between state of opposing social systems.

There is no people in the world who has made so many sacrifices and so many permanent achievements for defending and safeguarding peace as the people of the Soviet Union.

This is testified to by the facts firmly written down in the book on mankind's history and having an inextinguishable character.

-- It was the Soviet Union which, for the first time in history, submitted to the world public, the peoples, and the governments a proposal for universal and complete disarmament and introduced the principle of equality and equal security to international relations.

-- It was the Soviet Government which, in view of the fascist threat, developed the idea of collective security, of joint action by all states and governments against the fascist aggressors and which called upon all forces interested in peace to unite against the main enemy of the peoples at that time, irrespective of political and ideological differences.

-- It was the Soviet Union which made the main contribution to ensuring that a nuclear war has been prevented for over 4 decades now. No one must have any doubts regarding the determination of the fraternal socialist countries to do everything for the protection of our socialist construction work in order to implement our striving to have a happy and pleasant future for our children and grandchildren.

Today, when mankind is threatened by nuclear self-destruction, the struggle for peace is the first and most important concern of the Soviet Union, the GDR, and all fraternal socialist countries, all forces of peace and progress in the world.

Transition to Armament Limitation and Disarmament Is a Central Element in the Chain

Today the central element in the chain of guaranteeing peace is the transition to armament limitation and disarmament. The socialist countries submitted numerous constructive proposals on this, which once more shows that peace and socialism are one.

We fully support the program of peace and international security which was adopted by the 27th CPSU Congress and which testifies to the high awareness of responsibility of the Soviet Communists and all the Soviet people for the fate of mankind.

The peace program adopted by the Warsaw Pact states at their Budapest meeting is in line with the people's dearest desire in our country, for it points out the path into a world without war.

The implementation of this program would make it possible to liberate mankind from all nuclear and other mass destruction weapons by the end of the century.

We fully agree with the bold proposals for disarmament on earth and the nonextension of the arms race to space submitted by Mikhail Gorbachev at the Reykjavik meeting, proposals whose implementation would liberate mankind from the danger of a nuclear catastrophe.

Like all realistically thinking people, we assess this meeting as a significant political event which is of extraordinary importance in the struggle against the arms race, for banning and eliminating nuclear arms. It showed to the entire world that concrete agreements on comprehensive reductions of nuclear arms, as proposed by the Soviet Union, are possible.

Unfortunately, these proposals from the Soviet Union were not met with the necessary concession. A historic chance was not utilized, as the U.S. Administration refused to renounce its Star Wars program, to observe and consolidate the ABM treaty, and to thus give up the striving for military superiority.

The SED and the GDR people agree on the view that a new phase in the struggle to prevent a nuclear inferno has now started, which calls for more comprehensive efforts aimed at reducing nuclear confrontation and achieving normal international relations.

Now it is all the more important to work together with all forces of reason and realism to achieve a fundamental solution of the problems of war and peace. Peoples do not need the absurd search for always new arms systems, up to arms systems in space, but efficient measures for an armament stop and disarmament. The life of the peoples cannot be protected by SDI; it can only be protected by efficient disarmament!

Now it is all the more necessary to intensify the political dialogue, the contacts, and negotiations to ensure that everything that seemed possible in Reykjavik can be achieved after all. Peoples demand from the United States that it finally take realistic attitudes and adopt a way of thinking which is in line with the requirements of the nuclear age and respects the equal rights of all peoples.

The World's Conscience Must and Will Determine the World's Development

We now want all the more to contribute with all our strength to ensuring that the will of the peoples and states will be expressed even more energetically in order to pave the way for reason.

The world's conscience must and will determine the world's development, for peoples need peace. They need it just as they need air for breathing.
(strong applause)

Even if there are still many barriers on this way and serious problems which have not yet been solved and which fill the peoples with great concern, the topical international events reveal that agreements are possible if all approach each other in a realistic and constructive way.

The results of the Stockholm conference on Confidence-Building Measures and Security and Disarmament in Europe are an impressive proof of the possibility of a joint struggle for a compromise in the interest of peace that is acceptable to all participating sides.

The declaration of the six states' initiative of Mexico, the results of the summit of the nonaligned countries in Harare, the appeal of the 11th World Trade Union congress from our capital of Berlin to the working people and trade unions in all countries emphatically stress the broad range of the political forces of all continents in the struggle for the survival of mankind.

In the struggle to safeguard peace the words of our Comrade Erich Honecker are confirmed again and again: Political dialogue, the striving for prosperous relations between states can only result in concrete progress if the legitimate interests of all sides are taken into account.

The striving of the GDR is and will remain to work to strengthen peace, to conduct businesslike political dialogue, to develop relations of peaceful coexistence with the states of another social order. (strong applause)

Thus, our socialist German worker-peasant state consistently continues the glorious traditions of the best forces of our people.

With the November revolution the revolutionary workers and soldiers in Germany overthrew the imperial monarchy and made a great contribution to ending World War I. It was the great testimony to the heroism of the workers class in Germany and its will to shake off the imperialist yoke, eradicate war, and follow the Russian class brothers.

Then reaction was able to smother this revolution in the workers' blood. But the spark of Red October had caught fire and continues to live in our hearts.

The KPD--a revolutionary vanguard following the example of the party of Lenin--was born in the struggle and from then on carried the banner of peace and social progress on the long heroic way leading to the first socialist state on German soil.

Today we can note with justified pride and great satisfaction: From Karl Liebknecht's clear "No!" against the war credits in the Reichstag, to Ernst

Thaelmann's warning words in 1932--"He who votes for Hitler, votes for war"--Wilhelm Pieck's offers for unity front in the years of the brown pestilence in Germany, and the appeal of the KPD of 11 June 1945 up to the proposal by Comrade Erich Honecker to create a coalition of reason and realism against the organizers of a third world conflagration, there is an impressive historic continuity, a traditional line radiating power and trust. (strong applause)

In the Foremost Row for the Highest Asset of Mankind

It also hardens the historic truth that in the struggle for peace, the communists are always in the front row and are united with all supporting this highest asset of mankind.

This is particularly testified to by the international work of our Comrade Erich Honecker, work which is highly respected by our people and abroad and for which we express cordial thanks to him. (prolonged applause)

The dynamic and--as the years which passed since then have proved--successful program of our struggle for peace and social progress which he presented at the International Scientific Karl Marx Conference in 1983 founded our policy of political dialogue to shake the world conscience. Thus, a valuable, constructive contribution to preserving peace in the world was made.

The talks held by Comrade Erich Honecker with the leading representatives of Sweden, Belgium, and Greece and with other internationally prominent figures offered the opportunity to direct the international discussion at the comprehensive proposals to improve the international situation and to return to detente submitted by the Warsaw pact states.

The international respect and increased authority of our country together with the stable internal development are based on this constructive policy of dialogue, which is being consistently continued by the 11th party congress resolutions.

The citizens of our country welcome and support the fact that in any situation their state and its highest representatives consistently support cooperation with all those guided by reason and realism and actively working for a change for the better. With achievements that are respected worldwide, our people contributed to the longest period of peace of our country.

All to whom the preservation of peace and the warding off of nuclear catastrophe are the most important tasks, can rely on the fact that the GDR will always be at their side in this striving. (strong applause)

The "principles for a corridor free of nuclear arms in central Europe" agreed upon by the SED and the SPD and the initiative to create a zone free of chemical weapons are regarded by us as a constructive step of great political significance for the strengthening of trust and the reduction of confrontation in the center of Europe.

The European states in particular have a great responsibility for safeguarding peace. This is also a decisive concern in the relations between the GDR and the FRG. Also here reason and readiness for understanding should prove more and more as a reliable basis for implementing relations based on equal rights, relations of peaceful coexistence.

This alone is in line with the special responsibility which both German states have for peace in accordance with the historic lessons. The people and the state of the GDR daily prove again and again that they are meeting this responsibility in word and deed. At the center of our efforts is to ensure that never again will a war emanate from German soil. (strong applause)

In this connection, inviolability of the borders and the respect of the territorial integrity and sovereignty of all states in Europe in their present borders are a fundamental condition for peace.

Our ideal has been and will remain a world without weapons and without war. Together with the Soviet Union and with all socialist countries and linked with the peace forces throughout the world, we are convinced that this great aim can be achieved. (strong applause)

Millions Moved by Friendship Visit to Three Asian Countries

The official friendship visits made by Comrade Erich Honecker to the DPRK, the PRC, and the Mongolian Peoples' Republic, which were followed with vivid attention by the GDR citizens and the international public; the talks conducted in a cordial atmosphere and in agreement; and the agreements concluded with the highest representatives of the party and state leaderships of these countries were outstanding political events which moved millions of hearts.

This visit to three socialist countries of Asia was an important contribution to strengthening the cause of peace and socialism on this continent. Its results serve the expansion and strengthening of the cooperation of the socialist countries in the international arena.

The successful friendship visit was completely marked by international understanding and the further development of our bilateral relations.

With the visit to the PRC an important milestone in the history of the cooperation between our two countries was set and a new page was opened in the relations between the SED and the CPC, a page which is of great historic importance. (strong applause)

The enthusiastic reception and the cordiality granted to Comrade Erich Honecker in the countries he visited and the high appreciation of him as an internationally respected statesman and party leader fill millions of working people of our country with pride and pleasure. The international authority of our worker-peasant state strengthens them in their efforts to secure peace and further shape the developed socialist society.

The Working Place Is a Fighting Place for Peace

Dear friends and comrades!

History teaches us that the struggle for peace also needs a strong material power. Strong socialism--secure peace, this is the tested valid truth.

Therefore, the strengthening of socialism is the best, most efficient service to peace. This was again confirmed by the 11th party congress as a fundamental maxim of our actions.

The working place as the fighting place for peace--this is the motive for high performances of the working people of our country.

Implementation of proletarian internationalism and indestructible fraternal alliance with the country of Red October--this means for us, above all, the strengthening of socialism on German soil and the giving of a lasting character to comprehensive intensification. We proceed from this also in the cooperation with the fraternal states for implementing the comprehensive program of scientific-technological progress adopted by the CEMA countries.

Really Existing Socialism in the GDR Has Developed Powerfully

This approach is, at the same time, the basis for implementing the purpose of socialism in a better and better and more tangible way. By implementing the resolutions of the party congress, we continue the course of the unity of economic and social policy continuously and consistently, a way which has been rich in results and has stood its test for over 1 and 1/2 decades.

Irrespective of the multifaceted disturbing maneuvers of imperialism, really existing socialism in the GDR has developed powerfully. Life in our socialist homeland is marked by political stability and economic dynamism, by the rising living standard and social safety of the people. The GDR is among the most efficient industrial nations in the world. It has a highly developed agriculture and a modern education system. Science and culture are developing further and further.

Thanks to our tested system of the socialist planned economy, the turn to the comprehensive intensification of the entire national economy, and the closer and closer links between the advantages of socialism and the achievements of the scientific-technological revolution, we have economic growth rates that are achieved only in a few countries. The annually increasing national income speaks in favor of that. In the 1970-85 period it increased from approximately M117 billion to over M233 billion.

Together with the dynamically increasing production results, the material and cultural living standard of the people increased. Since 1971, 2.6 million apartments have been built and modernized, as have the schools, kindergartens, and health and supply facilities that go hand in hand with that. Thus, living conditions have essentially improved for 7.7 million citizens.

The working people's readiness to implement the new tasks set by the 11th party congress with optimism and energy is being activated to a great extent because everyone experiences: What we achieve is to the benefit of the society, to the advantage of everyone. All that we planned for the future is based on the achievements made so far in building socialism, on the close and trustful relations between the SED and all working people, and on the rich experiences of successful work that are utilized on a comprehensive basis.

The Year of the 11th Party Congress Is a Year of Highest Achievements

The forward-urging spirit of the 11th party congress determines the working day and the rhythm of life in our socialist homeland. The socialist competition is being powerfully implemented everywhere under the slogan "High Performances to the Benefit of the People and for Peace--Everything for the Implementation of the 11th SED Congress Resolutions" in order to fully utilize the enormous potentials and possibilities produced by the socialist society.

If one looks at the achievements made in 1986 up to the end of October, then it becomes indeed clear that the year of the party congress is a year of top performances.

With great initiatives the working peoples are directing their work, until the last day of the year, at fully implementing all tasks of the 1986 national economic plan, including the additional commitments they made, and at creating the preconditions for a good start into the 1987 plan year.

The will to make a high contribution to implementing our policy, a will marked by closeness to the people at one's own working place, and to thus contribute to safeguarding peace is much more developed than ever before among the workers, cooperative peasants, scientists, artisans, artists, and cultural workers, among the members of the National People's Army, the GDR Border Troops, and the other protection and security organs, among the citizens of all strata of the population.

Science and technology have become the main source of the growth of production and efficiency, in particular due to the development and implementation of new products, technologies, and processes as well as due to the saving of work-time, material, and energy costs linked with that.

This is also expressed in the high growth rates of 4.3 percent in the national income, of 8.6 percent in the net production in industry, and of 8.8 percent in labor productivity. Socialist agriculture makes a valuable contribution to implementing the party congress resolutions. In crop production 46.3 decitons of grain per hectare of agricultural land and an overall yield of 11.6 million metric tons were achieved, and thus the best grain harvest to date was brought in.

Also in the sector of animal production, the lead over the plan which has been achieved characterizes the creative and resourceful atmosphere in the countryside.

At the same time, it is becoming obvious that comprehensive intensification is more and more based on the development and introduction of key technologies.

Also, the great initiatives of the youth in the "FDJ drive for the 11th Party Congress," the activities of all parties and mass organizations united in the GDR National Front, as well as the valuable results of the citizens' initiative "Beautify Our Cities and Communities--Join In!" point to top performances in the year of the party congress.

The increased performance strength of the national economy was used for a considerable increase in the distributable final product.

Dear friends and comrades!

This is the path of the unity of economic and social policy on which we proceed purposefully and consistently, as decided by the 11th SED Congress. We want to achieve a national income of M1.3 trillion in the 1986-90 period, and over 90 percent of the increase is to be again achieved through increasing labor productivity. The housing program, as a central part of the social policy of the party of the workers class, will be continued with the building and modernization of 1,064,000 apartments altogether. This will make it possible to solve the housing issue as a social problem in the GDR by 1990. Thus, a great aim of the revolutionary workers movement is tangibly near for us.

The fact that the dynamism and efficiency of our national economy are further accelerated on the path of comprehensive intensification is a determining element for the successful advance. In this connection, we concentrate on mastering the key technologies. This is a challenge and also the great chance to rapidly renew production, increase its quality, and reduce inputs to an extent impossible thus far.

Here the closer interpenetration of science and production, in which the combines prove to be a main power for meeting the demands of the scientific-technological revolution, is of decisive significance.

For many a day our economic and social policy has stood its test in life. The GDR has all potentials to guarantee in the future a high dynamism in social development and to master the demands of our time successfully in the interest and to the benefit of the people.

By utilizing them prudently, socialism on German soil will continue to prosper well; it will become more attractive and richer. At the same time, we are making our contribution to further increasing socialism as a whole, its authority and attractiveness, its political weight in the world.

A New Level of Cooperation With Great Projects Through to the Year 2000

Dear friends and comrades!

The communists and all citizens of the GDR are filled with pride in being most closely linked with the CPSU and the Soviet people, who creatively continue the cause of Great October on the Leninist path.

We are able to note with pleasure that our fraternally allied countries are implementing a higher level of cooperation on the basis of the resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 11th SED Congress.

The meeting between Comrades Erich Honecker and Mikhail Gorbachev in Moscow at the beginning of October was of great significance for that. Led by awareness of their responsibility for strengthening socialism and securing peace, both general secretaries discussed the further activation of the work to implement the comprehensive program of scientific-technological progress. They spoke out in favor of improving CEMA activity and discussed proposals for further utilizing modern forms of cooperation.

On the basis of interstate agreements and contracts, which have been included into our socialist planning system, direct relations of economic institutions and economic units regulated through contracts will develop with a high economic advantage.

In accordance with the long-term program of cooperation in science, technology, and production up to the year 2000, great projects are being tackled, the maincore of which are the most modern processes and products. Above all, the development and broad utilization of highly productive key technologies determine the scientific-technological level of the contracts.

With this aim, combines and research institutions of the GDR are cooperating with the partners in the Soviet Union; essential projects of our state plan for science and technology are being worked on in cooperation with the Soviet Union. We will consistently continue on this path in order to reach more power for socialism through saving time.

The goods exchange of approximately M380 billion agreed upon for the present 5-year plan demonstrates the high level of interpenetration of our national economies. There is no long-term agreement in the world that reaches such an enormous volume, not even approximately. With a share of 39 percent, the USSR is the biggest trading partner of our republic, just as the GDR, with 11 percent, is the biggest partner in the foreign trade of the USSR. This will also be the case in the coming years.

Over 200 agreements and contracts at the governmental and ministerial levels provide the direction of the cooperation to implement this long-term trade agreement and decisively promote the economic growth in our countries.

Enormous Stimuli to Increase Economic Strength

In this connection, the microelectronics agreement, with a volume of over M10 billion, is of special importance. Enormous stimuli to increase the performance strength of both national economies will emanate from its implementation.

In view of the tasks which our countries must solve in the new stage of their development, they devote the highest attention to theoretical and practical cooperation as well as to the mutual exchange of experiences.

This gradual cooperation between the USSR and the GDR and the other states of the socialist community brings the peoples of our countries more and more closely together. Our countries, our peoples are closely linked with each other in all spheres of life. For decades, we have been linked by the thorough fares of friendship, oil and gas pipelines, the energy network, railway and air routes, and now even by the new railway ferry between Mukran and Klaipeda.

The paramount elements are in this connection the millionfold, cordial meetings of the people, the numerous friendship trains, and the spreading tourism, the exchanges of experiences of the innovators and rationalizers, the steel melters and scientists, the cooperative peasants, and the veterans of labor, and this includes the exemplary performances of our 13,000 pipeline builders in the Soviet Union as well as the firm comradeship-in-arms of our armies.

This is, dear friends and comrades, how the world sees us in the 69th year of the GOSR, shoulder to shoulder with the Soviet people and all peace-loving forces of this earth in the struggle for peace and social progress.

"The course of the party congress," Comrade Erich Honecker stressed, "means for us to make our contribution according to the slogan 'The Stronger Socialism, the Safer Peace and Thus the Future' in firm fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union and all socialist countries. We work and struggle for that." (Footnote 4) (Erich Honecker: "To Preserve Peace Determines the Soldier's Task in Socialism--Address to Graduates of Military Academies," in NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 25 September 1986, p 3.) (strong applause)

We wish our Soviet comrades and friends further great successes in implementing the significant resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress.

Together we will achieve new, important results in the struggle to strengthen socialism and safeguard peace.

Long live the inseparable friendship between the GDR and USSR! (strong applause)

Long live the firm militant community between the SED and the CPSU! (prolonged applause)

Long live the 69th anniversary of the GOSR! (prolonged, stormy applause)

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ROUNDTABLE ON PRESENT-DAY DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIALIST STATE

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 12, 20 Jun, No 14, 25 Jul 86

/Discussion by Univ Reader Dr Gheorghe Bobos, Univ Lecturer Dr Augustin Budusan, Univ Reader Dr Ion Deleanu, Univ Prof Dr Gheorghe Ditu, Univ Reader Dr Stefan Lantos, Univ Lecturer Dr Ion Leicu, Univ Reader Dr Gheorge Postelnicu, Univ Reader Andrei Sida and Univ Lecturer Dr Liviu Zapirtan/

/No 12, 20 Jun 86 pp 24-28/

/Text/ The view of the RCP and its general secretary Nicolae Ceausescu of the place and role of the socialist state in the unified system of social management and in construction of the new order is based on the principle that like any social organism, the socialist state is in a constant process of change and improvement in keeping with the changes in the development of the productive and social forces and relations in any given stage. In view of the results obtained in socialist construction and the requirements of the present stage of Romanian society's development, the 13th Party Congress stressed the need of very determined efforts to improve all economic and social management and planning.

Intensive development of the productive forces, comprehensive social management and purposeful application of the objective laws of social development call for improvement and development of the state's role for purposes of uniform and harmonious social development. Meanwhile, as Nicolae Ceausescu says, construction of the new order is accompanied by "a dialectical revolutionary process of changing the state into a new and increasingly democratic organism," wherein "harmonious combination of the state's activity with that of the democratic public bodies" is of outstanding importance.

In view of these considerations, ERA SOCIALISTA jointly with Cluj-Napoca University arranged a discussion of the Romanian socialist state's development in the present stage. In this issue we are publishing the first part of the abridged transcription of the discussion.

Objective Necessity of Developing the State's Role

GHEORGHE DITU: In substantiating the objective necessity of improving economic and social planning and management as essential to the aims of the program for

socioeconomic development approved by the 13th RCP Congress, Nicolae Ceausescu formulated the principle, of vital theoretical and practical importance, of more intensive development of the Romanian socialist state's role in uniform planning, organization and management of all socioeconomic activity on the basis of the Unified National Plan in the present stage of construction of fully developed socialism and Romania's advance toward communism. The party general secretary pointed out that "Experience and practice of social development show the unscientific and erroneous nature of the theories that would restrict or repudiate the state's role and functions in socioeconomic management... On the contrary, the whole future evolution of society and purposeful application of the laws of social development demand further improvement of management in all fields."

Careful analysis of the mechanism of the economic organism's present and future operation and development and of the internal and international specific-historical conditions under which socioeconomic activity is conducted provides many sound arguments in favor of that conclusion. The Romanian economy is a highly complex organism consisting of many sectors and subsectors including a very large number of economic units that are interacting more and more intensively and affecting each other as components of a unified and increasingly complex socioeconomic organism. The activities of all these components must be coordinated to secure the optimal operation of the organism as a whole.

Adequate coordination of the activities in the components of the economic organism requires in-depth knowledge both of the possibilities and available resources and of all the economic requirements, in volume and structure, of society as a whole and not just those of the various collectives. Since the resources are limited by their nature, a selection must be made to establish a set of priorities in meeting the social requirements with first priority on the basic, vital needs.

Meanwhile allowance must be made for the many individual or collective interests within the unity and identity of the basic economic interests of all members of socialist society, since they cannot always coincide with the general interests and therefore certain contradictions can and do arise that must be resolved promptly and in accordance with the general interests of society, with due consideration of both the individual private interests and the common ones of the various collectives. In other words, the components of the system of interests must be properly harmonized to permit the normal operation and development of the economic organism.

Current economic development is also essentially characterized by the intensified international division of labor against the background of the new technical-scientific revolution and the rapid growth of interdependences among the various national economies, which are becoming more and more the components of a single world economy, although qualitatively dissimilar ones. This is also true of the Romanian economy, as a natural outcome of the party's and State's consistent policy of increasing the degree and efficiency of Romania's participation in the world economic cycle and in the worldwide exchange of material and cultural values. The growing interdependences among the various national economies and the greater involvement of the national economy in the international division of labor considerably heighten the effect of the processes and phenomena of

the world economy upon the evolution of the internal economic processes and phenomena within each national economy. This urgently requires thorough knowledge of the processes and phenomena in the world economy and of the objective trends in their evolution as well as their prompt and due consideration in all economic organization, planning and management in order to avoid, eliminate or mitigate their negative, undesirable effects and accordingly arrange to accentuate their positive, desirable effects.

Meanwhile the contemporary scientific-technical revolution is causing many, frequent and radical changes in the operation and development of the economic organism on the micro- and macroeconomic levels, with effects that are multiplying rapidly in time and space. This is accentuating the prospective character of management and making it more and more necessary to anticipate the consequences of prompt but also long-range decisions about the courses of action both in the various sectors and on the level of the economy as a whole.

All this demonstrates that the normal operation of the socioeconomic organism objectively requires organization and management of all activity according to the single unified plan based on in-depth knowledge and proper use of the whole set of objective laws regulating the operation and development of the socialist economy and of society as a whole, with consideration of the whole series of internal and international conditions under which society develops. This can be done only by the socialist state, since it is the supreme representative of the owners and producers and the organizer of the entire people's common activity and it alone can see the overall operation and development of the national socioeconomic and political organism, can know all of the requirements for social development and the resources and potentials for meeting them on the scale of the community as a whole, and can best harmonize the private, collective and general interests.

STEFAN LANTOS: More intensive development of the state's role under party leadership along with development of the role of the workers self-management bodies is not the outcome of any subjective wish. Continuous improvement of the Romanian political system and the state's mechanisms and functions are purposefully directed processes, but they do not come about artificially but correspond to objective conditions and requirements. I think the principle of more pronounced development of the state's role in the present stage must be directly correlated with improvement of its functions as general administrator of the entire national wealth and as defender, organizer and promoter of the development of socialist ownership, functions whereby the Romanian socialist state becomes more and more definitely the supreme representative of the owners and producers and the organizer of the entire people's common activity. As such, the state is called upon to organize and direct coordination of individual and group interests with the general ones of society as a whole and to see that every workers collective performs its tasks in the social division of labor and that the provisions of the Unified National Plan for Romania's Socioeconomic Development are carried out. Nicolae Ceausescu said, "Let us always remember that we can in no way impair uniform socioeconomic management according to the unified plan. If we abandoned the principle of management according to the Unified National Plan for Romania's Socioeconomic Development, the activity would inevitably be disorganized and a number of contradictions would arise with serious effects upon socialist construction, national development and improvement of the people's material and cultural living standard."

ION DELEANU: The fundamental value of the theories of the RCP and its general secretary about the nature and role of the socialist state and its functions in building the fully developed socialist society is particularly striking in connection with the current ideological arguments about the state. The distinctive value of these theories rests upon the Romanian realities in the light of the requirements of the present stage of Romanian society's development, during which as Nicolae Ceausescu said, "Intensive development of the productive forces and an unprecedented expansion of socioeconomic activities demand improvement and development of the state's role as an objective necessity for the uniform and harmonious development of society."

The guidelines set by Nicolae Ceausescu are proving their unquestionable methodological and practical value in comparison with some theoretical options, which are polarized on the world level either around the idea that the state will "disappear" in the present stage by "breaking up" into other forms of social management or around the idea that the role of the state factor will be further accentuated indefinitely by statizing the other forms of social management. These are artificial and dogmatic options that could have been noted, in isolation, in the course of the theoretical procedures in Romania in a certain period. We need a more comprehensive and thorough assimilation of the dialectical categories of the state's form and content not only through in-depth understanding of the Marxist conception as a whole but especially through integration in that conception of what revolutionary theory and experience, including those of the RCP, have liberally, wisely and lucidly provided to enrich and historicize it. We need to abandon the traditional treatment of the state phenomenon, characterized by the absurd and harmful attempt to force the "state reality" onto a Procrustean bed of theories and principles considered sacrosanct, and to treat this phenomenon as a historical process, as a constantly evolving reality that is far more complex and diverse than the arsenal of patterns available to us. We need to approach the state phenomenon from the standpoint of its interactions with the other elements that make up the system of workers revolutionary democracy, and that of the dialectical relationships among the party, the state, and the other social management bodies. And we need to evaluate the evolution of the state phenomenon from a multidisciplinary, systemic viewpoint, while determining the effects of the new scientific-technical revolution in that field too.

STEFAN LANTOS: In addition to the foregoing factors, the need of enhancing the Romanian socialist state's role also arises, in a more general way, from the facts and demands of the new technical-scientific revolution, which has a powerful effect upon the management mechanism and the levers of political power. Accordingly it should be noted why the state, via its central and local organs, is the main element that organizes and manages the whole process of implementing the party programs for technical-scientific progress in Romania. Under the direction of the specialized state organs, the technical-scientific revolution affects all areas of human existence, while the general improvement of the state and public organs' activity is inconceivable without extensive application of the major advances of the new technical-scientific revolution. The party documents stress the need of developing and improving the science of social management as a major beneficiary and component of the technical-scientific revolution. Modernizing the system for collecting, processing and using information plays a vital part in improving the state organs' working methods and approach and the efficiency of the state and the workers revolutionary democratic forums

in management and organization. Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out 10 years ago that good management requires proper methods and that adoption of the long-term program for the socioeconomic information system, for introduction of management systems with ADP facilities and for supplying the national economy with computers was intended to bring about efficient scientific management on all levels. Of course any outmoded practices must be definitely abandoned if any good results or high efficiency are to be obtained in management. The new technical-scientific revolution is also bringing out the importance of information to the decisions made by the state organs and the new democratic bodies.

Extensive application of basic and applied scientific research permits theoretical-cognitive substantiation of the administrative and organizational procedures and the best determination of the standards, indicators and objectives of planning on the levels of the national economic sectors and social activities, while the modern approach to management demands further scientific studies on which to base programs concerning the directions of development. In improving the operations of the state and its mechanisms, it is increasingly important for forecasting always to precede planning, since it permits selection of the best alternative action.

ANDREI SIDA: Actually questions of the evolution of the socialist state and of the dialectics of its role and functions take on new aspects in the light of the principle of more intensive development of the Romanian socialist state's role, and of course that calls for various new approaches to the state phenomenon in Romanian society. I think it is relevant here to present the nature of the state-society relationship from the theoretical-philosophical point of view. While the evolution of the presocialist types of state was characterized by constantly aggravated alienation and separation of the state from society and contradiction between those areas of human existence or, as Marx said, between the "political area" and the "nonpolitical" one, between the "politician" and the "nonpolitician," between the "citizen" and the "individual," and between the "political state" and "civil society," the appearance and evolution of the socialist state radically changed the direction of this process toward "disalienation" and elimination of the separation or opposition of the two areas. From the form of an organism "beyond" the areas of people's real existence, a "transcendental" phenomenon with a "general reason," and a structure of metasocial, fetishized power, in the process of socialist revolution and construction the state became just what it is, namely a mechanism of the power of the working class and its allies and later one of the entire people's power for the purpose of implementing socialist revolution and construction and building the new order.

I think the state-society relationship in this sense calls for a more differentiated and penetrating interpretation of the historical materialist theory of the nature and evolution of the socialist state.

In the first place, the exploiting type of state disappears and the history of the state based on antagonistic classes and serving as an instrument of class domination ends with the institution of the new type of state. In the second place the new socialist state also performs, initially and temporarily, the function of the proletariat's class domination of the bourgeoisie ousted from power, but that function differs from the start from that of the presocialist states because the power is exercised by a majority against a minority in order to abolish any social domination or oppression. Nor should the fact be

overlooked for a moment that the main role and objective of the socialist state are socialist and communist construction on a broad democratic base. Accordingly, while a major aspect of the class content of the socialist state disappears once the exploiting classes are abolished, that is not to be confused with disappearance of the state itself, whose main role is the constructive one of organizing and managing the socioeconomic processes and society as a whole. That content does not disappear but is developed and considerably enriched in the course of progress on the path of socialism and communism. And in the third place, socialism naturally lends the concept of the state another content. The RCP views the socialist state as the chief instrument for building the new society and implementing domestic and foreign policy, the mechanism of the entire people's power, the owners' and producers' supreme representative, and an institution of representative and direct, legislative, executive and administrative power. As it has already been said here, the party has developed and scientifically substantiated the principle of enhancing the state's role and functions in the present stage of socialist Romania's development, and the state is acquiring its new content in that process. But this enhancement is not to be a quantitative expansion of the state mechanism, a growing "statizing" of society, or a consolidation of bureaucracy, but a further improvement in its whole performance and a more and more complete integration of it in society through better organization, management and performance of its functions.

Accordingly, experience and the results of socialist construction in Romania and other countries as well refute the theories regarding the state as a "necessary evil" and advocating "limitation" or "dismantling" of the state or "transfer" of some of its functions to supernational bodies or its replacement with other, decentralized bodies.

ION DELEANU: Some of the definitions of the state based on these theories emphasize its function as an "instrument of government," its staffing with "specialists in government," or its ability to use "unilateral compulsory measures" when needed "by resorting to its coercive power." I think those formulations or others like them are anachronistic and stereotyped. They disregard experience, and the fact that the historical "datum" is merely a term of reference for purposes of clear and realistic evaluation of the actual fact. The need to get away from set formulas, labeling, and the inflexible context of dictionary definitions and to see reality as it is and as it should be recurs as a leitmotif throughout the party general secretary's works. As he said, "Socialism and communism are being built under extremely diverse historical conditions and cannot be achieved on the basis of any one universally valid patent, as in the case of technology for example, and even there the principle of automatic reproduction of a single model is not entirely valid."

With such terms of reference corresponding to the qualitative changes in Romanian society and to the value accumulations resulting from the continuity of the revolutionary process, and allowing for the strategic objectives of the present and future developmental stages, the quality of the Romanian socialist state as a distinct structure in the political system certainly cannot rest upon the state's "traditional" inclination to impose the will of one class upon all society and to govern by coercion. The workers revolutionary democratic state has changed its content and multiplied its qualities and accordingly its functions and objectives. The Romanian socialist state takes several forms today. It is the means of exercising power and consolidating the people's sovereignty, the

general administrator of the entire people's property, the instrument for further democratization of society, the defender of the basic civil rights and freedoms and the revolutionary gains, and the representative of socialist Romania's inclination toward collaboration, friendship, good will, security and peace in the name and on behalf of humanity. The great number of these capacities, which multiply the state's functions and accentuate its role, warrants the conclusion that in the course of building the fully developed socialist society it is an objective necessity not to curtail the state's role but to develop and strengthen it.

Making the State a New and Increasingly Democratic Body

GHEORGHE DITU: The question arises whether development of the socialist state's role in organization, planning and uniform management of the economy does not conflict with consolidation and development of workers self-management and the economic units' self-administration and self-financing. A scientific analysis of the operating mechanism of the Romanian socialist economy emphatically demonstrates that the two processes are not only not mutually exclusive in reality, but require and reinforce each other. We could say that there is a division of labor implemented between the socialist state and the collective organs of socioeconomic management within the components of the national economy in the organization, planning and management of economic activity, and each one has its well-defined functions and tasks.

The state has objectively determined functions in the system of planned management of the Romanian national economy, such as setting the main directions of development, determining the chief proportions, careful study and prompt and proper resolution of any possible contradictions that may arise in the operation or development of the national economy, adopting and implementing measures needed to further improve all economic activities, and providing a regular control in the name and on behalf of all society over strict observance and implementation of the national plans and programs for socioeconomic development on the part of all participants in economic activity and over defense and development of socialist property and the national wealth and its use in the vital interests of all members of society.

As owners, producers and beneficiaries the workers in the economic units have the right and the duty to plan, organize and secure the efficiency of the activity with the greatest socioeconomic effectiveness in keeping with the aims and tasks in the Unified National Plan and the actual situation in the respective unit, and to make better use of the material and financial resources available to them as well as the workers' creative powers for the benefit of the respective collective and of society as a whole.

Economic management on the basis of the Unified National Plan not only does not interfere with consolidation and development of self-management and economic-financial self-administration but creates the best background for them. Self-administration is not to be confused with total autonomy of the economic units or repudiation of centralized management. That would radically conflict with the very nature of socialist ownership as joint public ownership of all members of society.

GHEORGHE BOBOS: Economic determinism operates in particular ways in Romanian socialist society. As we know, Friedrich Engels said about the appearance of the state that that power, coming from the heart of society, tends to alienate itself more and more from society. And as it was pointed out here, that tendency is present in all presocialist types of state. Thanks to private ownership of the production means in the societies based on exploitation, a limited group of individuals have seized the main resources and "legitimized" this seizure by means of the state and the law, which become tools in the hands of the rich minority alienated from the great mass of workers, who lack production means.

Socialization of the chief production means and establishment of socialist ownership make it possible to do away with this alienation of the state and the law from society. As socialism is consolidated, the state and the law are integrated further and further in society until they are completely merged and the state and social management become aspects of material and cultural production, which will happen, of course, in communist society. Engels said, "Instead of governing persons, there will be administration of things and management of the production processes."

Accordingly when we speak of the state and use that concept, we must ask ourselves what kind of state is meant and what particular content the concept has in each stage of historical development. As we know the founders of dialectical and historical materialism repeatedly pointed out that in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism there can no longer be a state in the bourgeois sense of the word or any political organization based on repression or exploitation, but only a political organization of a particular kind, arising mainly from the needs of uniform management of the national economy and administration of the entire people's wealth in the name of the people, by the people and for the people. Thanks to the changes made in its class nature, the Romanian socialist state can no longer be characterized as a dictatorship of the proletariat because it is now a workers revolutionary democracy, chiefly engaged in managing the economic and social-cultural processes as the supreme representative of the owners, producers and beneficiaries of the national wealth.

LIVIU ZAPIRTAN: The Romanian socialist state is indeed a profoundly democratic one, a fact deliberately falsified or ignored by the ideological representatives of some reactionary imperialist circles, while some non-Marxist authors misrepresent the real relationships between the state and society. Fr. Chatelet and E. Pisier-Konchuer do not consider the society-state relationship determined by the content of the socioeconomic system at all, as it actually is, but a phenomenon characteristic of any society, so that by its nature the state takes three forms in its relationship to society, (a) the "manager-state" (inspired by traditional liberal thought), which is not associated with power as the "holder" of it but exercises it in isolation from society. According to those authors, from this kind of state forms could develop wherein certain forces declare themselves "perpetual managers," giving rise to bureaucracy, a dictatorial spirit or forms of a state wherein a party leads all activities, leading both authors to think (in a way of thinking reminiscent of M. Duverger) that this gave rise to the so-called party-state, which would characterize the dictatorial states, among which the socialist states are included in a disparaging way for diversionist purposes, (b) the "nation-state, which is formed to stimulate the historical advancement of a nation and reflects a sincere wish to assert its

national sovereignty and independence, as the states recently freed from colonial domination are doing, and (c) the "scientist-state," resulting from a general need of efficiency experienced by any kind of state, especially in view of the scientific-technical revolution.

I think that any criticism of this typology must first allow for the fact that the type of state cannot be determined without reference to what Hegel called the "civil society," that is to the main characteristics of a community in a certain stage of historical development and characterized by certain class relationships. Seen in this light, the Marxist typology of the states cannot be "out-done" except for the purpose of eliminating it, because the type of state largely depends upon the social system.

Another conclusion from the two French authors' typology follows from the statement of their intention to include the socialist state alongside or among the eminently capitalist forms of a state, in order to ignore not only its distinctive features but also its historical superiority. To be sure the socialist state like any kind of state institutionalizes certain class relationships in the socioeconomic area. But that area may be characterized by antagonistic relations caused by private ownership of the chief production means, in which case we have to deal with a type of capitalist state based on exploitation and oppression, or by relations of collaboration and social equality among the social classes, in which case the state is an instrument of the entire people for achieving what Marx called "self-government of free producers." Given the essential difference between the socialist system and all other, presocialist societies, it is even more striking in view of the fact that it is a serious error to include the socialist state in the same category as the presocialist states, both theoretically and practically.

ION DELEANU: The concepts and phenomena of the state have been and still are among the most controversial ones in bourgeois ideology. Political liberalism has proceeded from the "minimal state" or "night watchman" as Lassalle called it to the "maximal state" intervening in the economy and other areas of society and to the "general welfare state." Faced with the crisis of the "providential state" myth, the bourgeois ideological position was suddenly revised in favor of an "authoritarian statism" and a state whose function would no longer be to "manage property" but to preach austerity in order to "socialize" the costs of the crisis and maintain the high quota of monopolist profits. But regardless of the way its "destiny" has been projected beyond its nature and the specific-historical realities and regardless of the symbolic formulas attributed to it, the bourgeois state has been and remains the chief instrument of continuous "transmission," on the basis of private ownership, of economic domination to politics and all other areas of society.

ANDREI SIDA: The role of the workers revolutionary democratic state is of course essential to determine the content and general features suggested to us by the very triad of concepts or categories comprised in the concept of the workers revolutionary democratic state and, of course, their distinctive meanings. From this standpoint, in the present stage the Romanian state has the essential features of being democratic, working class, and revolutionary.

Its democratic character flows primarily from the economic base and class structure of society, from the truly representative nature of the power for all

social and national structures in Romania in the present period, and from the workers' direct participation in exercise of the prerogatives of power, in preparation, discussion and ratification of laws, decisions and other regulatory enactments of importance, in implementing the programs for socioeconomic and cultural development and the masses' control over the activity of the state organs, in defending and strengthening public order, and in observing the laws, party and state decisions, and socialist principles and standards of work and life. Meanwhile the Romanian state's activity is based upon close interaction and cooperation between the system (actually the subsystem) of state organs and the workers self-management bodies and mass and public organizations, and upon the new principles and standards of democratic management. New relationships are developing between the state and society for mutual determination and integration of the state in society and for open, public performance of its entire activity, which is under the masses' direct control. Exercise of the party's role as the vital center of society and the leading political force of all Romanian socialist society guarantees the consistently enhanced democratism of state activity and of social activity in general, if only because the party itself, by virtue of its internal structure, its organizational, programmatic and ideological principles, and the general social interests it serves, inherently reflects the highest democratism and lends the dialectics of the entire political system and accordingly the state as well a consistent democratism, being the most representative and profoundly democratic political-organizational force.

The working-class character of the Romanian state is due to the historically determined place and role of the working class in the social structure as the leading class by virtue of its objective and subjective qualities, as the chief producer and holder of socialist property, as the largest class in society with the most advanced political awareness and the greatest revolutionary potential and the best organized class as well. It is natural that the place and role of the working class should be accordingly reflected in the structure of the organs of state power and characterize the nature and content of the state in the present stage. The state's working class character is strengthened by the alliance of the working class with the cooperative peasantry and the other categories of workers and by the socialist unity of the entire people. Moreover the very evolution of Romanian society's class structure in the process of social leveling, aimed at formation of a single working people, enhances and consolidates the working class character of the Romanian state and society as a whole.

The revolutionary character of the Romanian socialist state is objectively determined by the content and characteristics of the present stage, in which the continuity of the revolutionary process is inherently reflected in its nature, role and functions. It also acquires this character from the profoundly revolutionary nature of the RCP as the leading political force of society. The revolutionary nature of the Romanian state is critical to the changes specified in the RCP Program and the decisions of the 13th Party Congress, and it is evident not only in the changes taking place in its own dialectical evolution and in the structure and functions of the mechanism of state power and administration but also in promotion of innovations, creativeness and the new quality in all socioeconomic activity, which is the most comprehensive indication of the revolutionary content of the present stage.

ION DELEANU: As an all-inclusive political organization, I think the state is the most effective instrument for influencing social existence, since it can

convert political decisions to state decisions for that purpose. In other words, in order to perform its mission the state "operationalizes" political objectives, adopts them through its mechanism, and implements them by its own ways and means.

The RCP treats the state's functions in a specific-historical way, allowing for both the present and the future requirements. These functions are no fixed pattern for mechanical operation of the state system but a series of functions and tasks in constant adjustment, a flexible assortment of activities necessitated by the diversity and vitality of society. Under the present internal and international conditions the following functions are distinguishable and are being performed on higher qualitative levels, namely the economic-organizational function, consisting of organization and management of the economic processes and providing the entire people with a new quality of life and work; the cultural-educational function of directing state activity toward improvement of instruction, culture and socialist awareness; and the social function, with the chief aim of meeting the workers' material and cultural requirements and building socialist civilization.

In bringing out the fact that the Romanian socialist state's activity improves, acquires new qualities, and becomes more comprehensive as revolutionary construction of the new order progresses, Nicolae Ceausescu said, "Some of the old features and functions of the state diminish and disappear as the productive forces are developed and social relations are improved. Meanwhile other, new ones are borne of the objective necessity of managing the revolutionary process as a whole and of planning and organizing all socioeconomic activity. A dialectical revolutionary process is going on to make the state a new and increasingly democratic organism."

ANDREI SIDA: Some interesting discussions are going on and various systematizations and delimitations are being suggested and accepted concerning the Romanian state's functions in the present stage, which is only natural, as a matter of fact. Of course they are not only of methodological importance but also of operational, theoretical and practical importance. Short of categorically deciding that any of the systematizations or terms under which these functions are formulated in the Romanian political and legal literature is beyond any discussion or possibility of improvement, I think it can be concluded that in their overall unity and interaction they are sufficiently comprehensive and appropriate for the major aims of state-political activity in the present stage. The content, ways and means of implementation, proportion, significance and importance of each function are specifically determined and subject to an evolution corresponding to that of the field they are in. At some point in some stage of the revolutionary process some of the state's functions may be given first priority in order to change their proportions or positions in the whole series of other functions, and some activities within those functions may be specially emphasized or expanded at any given point.

I would add here that I think it is important to see and understand the state's functions and the operation of the state mechanism in the context of their systemic interaction with the other components of the political system. Theoretically, regularly and in principle the problem of correlated "integration" and "interaction" of the state in the political system of society, for example, does

not contain too many unknowns. But practically speaking the situation is more complicated and still awaiting efficient solutions, improvements and innovations in some respects, and especially as regards delimitation of the responsibilities and powers of the various bodies, prevention of duplications and overlapping, rationalization and simplification of state organization and management, and elimination of any forms of bureaucracy. Moreover the 13th Party Congress has entered these problems as objectives for improvement of the state and the Romanian political system in the present stage of Romanian society's development.

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[Text] The view of the RCP and its general secretary Nicolae Ceausescu of the place and role of the socialist state in the uniform system of social management and in construction of the new order is based on the principle that it like any social organism is in a process of constant change and improvement in correlation with the changes in development of the productive forces and of the social and production relations in any given stage.

Intensive development of the productive forces, social management as a whole, and purposeful application of the objective laws of social development call for improvement and expansion of the state's role in order to secure uniform and harmonious development of society. Moreover construction of the new order involves a dialectical revolutionary process of making the state a new and more and more democratic organism, wherein harmonious combination of the state's activity with that of the democratic public bodies is particularly important. As Nicolae Ceausescu said to the Plenum of the RCP Central Committee in January 1986, "The state organs and the Romanian socialist state must secure uniform management of all sectors and all society, and meanwhile we must widely develop cooperation of the state organs with the new democratic bodies for the various activities. We must proceed from the fact that the state organs and the democratic bodies are a single whole and together they represent and give the new democratic form to the Romanian state and the workers revolutionary democracy."

In view of these considerations, ERA SOCIALISTA jointly with Cluj-Napoca University arranged a discussion of the dialectics of the Romanian socialist state's development in the present stage, the first part of which was published in No 12 1986. In this issue we are publishing the second part of the abridged transcription of the discussion.

Harmonious Combination of State Activity with That of the New Democratic Bodies

GHEORGHE BOBOS: The Romanian socialist state's increasingly important role in managing the economic and social-cultural processes in the present stage is also due to its structure and to the way its organs are formed and operate. It is to the party general secretary's credit that he found new and original ways of correlating the revolutionary nature of the state's activity with its form, with the way its organs are organized and operate, and with the new workers revolutionary democratic bodies, allowing for Romania's particular developmental laws and creatively applying the dialectical and historical materialist principle that the content of a phenomenon is more flexible and revolutionary, whereas its form is more conservative and tends to be more stable. Upon Nicolae Ceausescu's initiative and under his leadership a unique system of political organization

has been created in the last 20 years that is a broad democratic system providing for the entire people's participation in discussion and ratification of laws and decisions. This system is essentially characterized by correlation of the state organs' activity with that of the workers revolutionary democratic bodies.

If we examine the elements of the Romanian socialist democratic system carefully we see that most of them concern management of the national economy. The organizational forms of workers democracy make it possible to interest an increasing number of workers in that management and in a growing realization of their capacities as owners, producers and beneficiaries of the national wealth.

The state organs and the workers revolutionary democratic bodies collaborate closely and their activities are correlated. Of course that collaboration does not warrant the conclusion that it detracts from the state organs' role or their responsibility for solving the problems within their jurisdiction. As Nicolae Ceausescu said, harmonious combination of the state's activity with that of the democratic public bodies is vital to the process of making the state a new and increasingly democratic organism. He said, "In working for development of the state's role in social management we must further emphasize development and improvement of workers revolutionary democracy by enhancing the roles of the workers councils, the general assemblies of owners, producers and beneficiaries of all that is produced in Romania, and the congresses and national councils as well, which provide for participation of the workers and the people in managing all activities and the entire country,"

AUGUSTIN BUDUSAN: The unremitting efforts of the RCP and its general secretary to expand the power system and to combine the whole network of state institutions and non-state, mass and public organizations in its democratic structure, while each one of them contributes in its way to exercise of power by increasingly wide masses of workers, are certainly well known. In the future I think this trend will operate in such a way that the power system will be identified with the political system in general. Accordingly I believe that without underestimating the state's important role as the chief instrument of power, we must realize that it is not the only manifestation of political power in Romanian society.

Several years ago, with Nicolae Ceausescu's telling encouragement, extensive consultation and democratic discussion of political decisions by the masses were instituted in Romanian political practice. Since those decisions become operational only by approval of the real holders of power, we can see that the framework of institutions and bodies through which power is exercised is incomparably broader than it is in any nonsocialist state. And as it has been noted in our discussion, the relationship between the socialist state and the workers self-management bodies is to be interpreted neither as a "supervisory" activity of their solely administrative coordination by the state, nor as a separation, since they have parallel evolutions. The evolution of this relationship actually achieves the dialectical unity between the need of uniform centralized management and the considerably accentuated broadly democratic character of the masses' organized participation in the political affairs of Romanian socialist society. This means that the workers self-management bodies do not confine their activity to the economic institutions and organisms or to any solely economic local administration but include, as we know, a wide range of ways and

means of participation on the national level. Accordingly their functions are of a pronounced political nature, supplementing the state's activity without replacing or overlapping it. Moreover those political functions are not limited to mere observance or approval of decisions on principle. The self-management institutions are involved and are expected to be involved more and more actively in the whole mechanism of social management.

The Romanian concept of workers self-management is certainly not based solely on the existence of some appropriate institutionalized forms, although they are a *sine qua non*. As Nicolae Ceausescu says, this whole system must validate its democratic qualities by a suitable procedure, which calls for further rationalization of its working methods and approach and greater individual and collective responsibility. Otherwise the dynamic evolution of society and the growing complexity of the objectives with which it is confronted may expose the new democratic bodies to routine procedure and thereby make them politically ineffective.

As it has been pointed out on other occasions, the profoundly democratic political system of Romanian socialist society includes a variety of political and public organizations in a dialectical, systemic articulation and a wide range of self-management institutions from the local to the higher levels, and they provide suitable means of representing private and group interests in their unity with the general interests of society in an original structure and design. This kind of political pluralism is superior to that based upon conflicting social structures. As the party general secretary said, "Pluralism in Romania has a number of aspects that are far superior to those in the countries with several parties. We are looking for new forms, to be sure, which differ from the traditional ones of the West but which suit the new realities and the present stage of socialist development in Romania, democratic forms incomparably superior to the already known traditional ones."

The party is the vital, driving center of political power and of the entire nation. It is also clear that the relationships of interdependence and interaction among the components of the power system are not to be confused with substitutions. The party general secretary has very clearly stated that party leadership in Romanian society does not replace the state organs under any circumstances and does not and cannot detract in any way from their responsibility. I believe this statement also applies to the relationships among the other components of the political system, namely those between the state and the mass and public organizations, between the state and the workers self-management bodies, etc. It is only by enhancing the relative functions and the autonomy of each component of the power system that we can give it a broad, mass basis.

ION DELEANU: Actually the RCP feels that enhancement of the state's role in society, and especially in planning, organization and uniform management of all socioeconomic activity should not lead to making a fetish of the state phenomenon. The state is the chief political "instrument" for exercising power and carrying out political decisions by its characteristic ways and means. But the power system is not the same as the governmental system. The state is not the only "instrument" of power but one element integrated in the series of other political factors whereby the people's power is implemented. Combination of the activities of all bodies in the workers revolutionary democratic system, in such

a way as to improve the socialist structure as a whole and to involve them in the exercise and implementation of power and in social administration as well, is the main direction taken by the Romanian state's increasingly complete integration in society, wherein its future conversion to self-government of the people will take place. In other words, that harmonious combination is essential for anticipating the state's future in Romanian socialist society.

Each of the state and public bodies making up the political system has its own particular functions and each one of them pursues its characteristic ways and means of performing them. This "partitioning" of functions and methods of performing them actually reflects the division of the tasks and functions of the various factors in the power system, and it is also the result of that division. But the power factors do not exist or operate as independent entities. Their tasks and functions determine the nature of the "parts" as a "whole" and that of the elements that make up the system as a system. And these elements also supplement the purpose and objectives of the power system. They are polarized around them and subordinated to them, and they are implemented together in a single, coherent, closely articulated whole in order to promote the critical values of society for purposes of accelerating its advance toward higher forms of development. Accordingly the distinctive features of the power subsystems, originating in their particular nature, structure and functions, are no boundaries among the components of the system but are the very prerequisites for the inception, completion and interaction of their activities for purposes of accomplishing the strategic aims of society within this unity in diversity. Nicolae Ceaușescu said that all the state and public bodies make up a unique democratic system wherein the masses' direct representatives decide upon the future of the country and the ways of steadily implementing the RCP Program for Building the Fully Developed Socialist Society and for the Advance Toward Communism," wherefore we must "harmoniously combine the new bodies and the new forms of democratic social management with the organs of the socialist state." The two kinds of bodies must "collaborate harmoniously to form the unified system of socialist democracy, of the democratic socialist state, and of the workers revolutionary democratic state."

Correlation of the representative forms of exercise of power with direct democracy, development of an extensive and permanent social dialogue (an objective necessity because of the complexity and extent of the tasks of building the fully developed socialist society, interaction of the activities of the state power with those of the other forms of social management and organization, constant expansion of the state's constructive aspect, reflected as well by the evolution of its functions, correlation of the state's role with workers self-management, further development of the party's leadership, and increasingly close integration of the party in society are only a few of the distinctive aspects of the Romanian political system. Accordingly the Romanian state's designation as a state of workers revolutionary democracy brings out the devotion, energy, ability, initiative and revolutionary spirit of all those who compose it, who have been raised to the rank of legitimate holders of economic and political power in a workers' state based upon work, work being the infrastructure of a democracy that is new in principle.

GHEORGHE POSTELNICU: As we know the series of measures adopted since the Ninth RCP Congress led to an improvement of the state's role in planned management of

all socioeconomic activities, in close correlation with the standards of scientific management of socialist society and with the situation in Romania. As a result the concepts of management and planning have been continually enriched and now have a new content with many socially useful features, and workers self-management is one of the main considerations in planned management.

Accordingly I would like to make a point that I consider significant. The RCP has not regarded workers self-management as just a principle of management. By its nature it means a whole socioeconomic system, an entire complex for organizing, managing and implementing the production process that is reflected in a series of production relations. Of course its direct, practical application is to be seen in the greater initiative and direct responsibility of the workers collectives for the most efficient management of all material resources and in the greater effect of the qualitative, intensive factors in economic growth. But the roots of self-management go much deeper, lying in the system of new production relations based upon socialist ownership.

Accordingly workers self-management cannot be reduced to the process of improving the planning system or some economic and financial indicators. The RCP and Nicolae Ceausescu regard it as an original contribution and a specific way of adjusting economic relations to the rising level of the productive forces, enhancing the stimulating effect of production relations in correlation with the productive forces and improving the mechanism of dialectical interaction of the two aspects of the socialist production method.

In another connection, I think we must mention that generalization of the new economic-financial mechanism based upon workers self-management has created additional possibilities for widespread use of the levers of value to harmonize centralized management with the autonomy of the economic units, as well as the necessary structure for the workers' direct, responsible involvement in solving the problems of rational management of the material and financial resources. These points are essential because they bring out the unquestionable fact, confirmed by economic experience in Romania, that self-management does not conflict with direction of the whole economy on the basis of a unified national plan nor in any way with the major vital interests pursued by the nation as a whole. On the contrary, its application has proved useful and necessary, especially since knowledge and use of the objective economic laws require, in socialism too, careful consideration of economic productivity in close correlation with the degree of development of the productive forces and the maturity of production relations.

ION DELEANU: As it was planned and applied in Romania, the principle of workers self-management is distinguished by its original purposes, values and effects. Critical analysis instead of one-sided approaches, creative enrichment of the theory of socialist construction, and understanding of self-management not as a fortuitous method but as an objective necessity of socialist development in the advance toward communism and a direction of democratic political and economic development of Romanian society are only a few of the chief aspects of the RCP's plan and action in designing and implementing workers self-management.

Self-management is the inevitable response to the demands of Romanian society's present developmental stage, having an objective content determined by the Romanian situation and the main tasks set by the 13th RCP Congress. It is the

qualitative expression of a process of quantitative accumulation and also the way toward solution of one of the contradictions that arose at a certain point in the course of that process, namely that between the democratic organizational structure accomplished and the overcentralized economic mechanism.* Workers self-management is accordingly both the consequence and the requirement for development of socialist democracy. Mere representative participation in social management, however real and effective, could no longer fully reflect the values of socialist democracy or the level reached in its development. A form of all-inclusive social management, covering all human relations and all of society's organizational and functional structures, was required that would adequately express the workers' direct participation in management, essentially determine the main direction of enhancement of socialist democracy, and anticipate communist social organization.

Workers self-management is based not only on the fact of the people's political omnipotence but also on their capacity as sovereign holders of economic power. It reflects the high level of the workers' awareness as well as the maturity of social relations, and development of social responsibility is one of its intrinsic aspects. I think it is also a synthesis of scientific management and socialized decision-making. Not only coordination but also interdependence of democracy and science are the substance of the self-management concept.

GHEORGHE POSTELNICU: From this standpoint I think workers self-management is to be viewed as a way of organizing social production whereby the criteria of economic effectiveness and the methods of planned management of the economy are evaluated. The very existence of self-management enables us to renovate the specific ways of applying the economic mechanism whenever they cease to suit the intended purposes. In its turn workers self-management will always need new improvements itself, according to the incentive system, planning methods and set of effectiveness indicators used and in general according to the new requirements and realities of each historical stage.

The measures adopted in the last period to improve the economic-financial mechanism were indicative of the RCP's efforts to resolve some contradictions that had arisen between the modern technical-material base that had been created and the efficiency with which it is used. Expressed in terms of economic policy, those measures also showed that their effectiveness depends upon the creative and revolutionary collective thought of those who are alike the producers, owners and beneficiaries of the entire national wealth, and that experience proved indispensable in the strategy for combining uniform management of the national economy with each unit's operational autonomy. The adopted measures also indicated that within certain limits centralizing decisions is absolutely necessary because of the need of concentrating the resources on expanded reproduction, activation of major production capacities, reorganization of sectors, subsectors and outputs according to the criteria for lowering consumption of material and energy resources, and promotion of advanced technologies, as well as other decisions that are difficult to make and especially difficult to carry out on the enterprise level. The socialist state has increased functions in all these matters, leading us to assert that there can be no question whatever of any reduction of the state's role in efficient management of the national wealth, but rather one of more and more intensive development of the role of the workers revolutionary democratic state, as it has been already pointed out in our discussion.

*As they said at the Plenum of the RCP Central Committee in March 1978.

On the other hand excessive centralism, often criticized by the party administration, impairs the principle of democratic centralism by generating bureaucracy and inflexibility and detracts from the workers' initiative and interest, whereas workers self-management provides the real possibility, I would say, of some operational decentralization on the microeconomic level in the sense of workers' direct participation in making decisions about efficient management of the property with which society has entrusted them.

Accordingly autonomy cannot be pushed to the point of absolute independence, to be sure, because that would conflict with uniform management of the activity by shattering its organizing power and wiping out its advantages of overall coordination over longer periods. Furthermore promotion of workers self-management does not and never will divide the united socialist producers or break up socialist ownership, which is the foundation of the nation's all-around progress and of socialist and communist construction. The functions conferred by law on the enterprises mean no release from responsibility but correct application of the laws and decisions and of their assignments in the Unified National Plan, as well as consolidation of order, discipline and individual and collective responsibility. Therefore we can say that the functions conferred by law on the collective management bodies on the level of the units are indispensable to effective and more efficient promotion of workers self-management, which requires constant improvement of the workers' professional training and mastery of economic theory and practice and the science of management.

ION DELEANU: As it has been brought out in the discussion, self-management is actually a principle with determinations and implications of its own and one that is closely interdependent with democratic centralism. In the entirety of this interdependence, it contributes to better use of the functions of democratic centralism. As a fundamental principle of organization and operation of the Romanian social-political system, democratic centralism entails ways and means of self-management because it calls for autonomy and initiative of the basic components of the societal whole and effective mass participation in all social-political activity along with uniform socioeconomic management. But self-management amounts to more than a mere "measure" or set of functions to eliminate the "excesses" of democratic centralism. By virtue of its determinations and requirements, which coincide with those of democratic centralism to a certain extent and in certain respects, workers self-management exists as an independent principle, but one within the interaction of all the principles that structure social organization and development.

Nicolae Ceausescu brought out the need of this delimitation and interaction as well when he said it is necessary "to manage all socioeconomic activity on the principles of both democratic centralism... and self-management. He said again at the 13th RCP Congress that "Improvement of the workers revolutionary democratic state's activity and development of the system of workers democratic bodies in various sectors will lead to further active participation of the masses in management of the state and all socioeconomic activity and to further democratization of Romanian society. But the masses' active participation in state management and development of workers revolutionary democracy in no way require repudiation or reduction of uniform management of state activity."

ION LEICU: I share the opinion expressed in the discussion that treatment of the political institutions, in this case the state, as inseparable from the entire socialist political system and especially from its socioeconomic components makes it easier to bring out the dialectics of the relationships of the economic with the political and the interaction between them because it reveals both the critical role of the economic and the action of the political. In this view, characteristic of the innovative thought of the leader of the RCP, the socialist state changes in both its content and its functions to meet the requirements of each stage, so far from being an autonomous entity divorced from and above society that would remain unchanged throughout socialist and communist construction.

As the documents of the 13th RCP Congress point out, the state has increasing responsibilities in the uniform and planned management of all society. But this increase in the state's role and the improvement of its functions do not conflict with the party's leadership but are essential to the growth of that role. An increased role of the political factor in construction of the fully developed socialist society requires greater contributions from all its components, especially the party and state. Development of the party's leadership objectively requires and also brings about more intensive development of the state's role, since the state is the chief instrument for implementing the policy of building the new order. Moreover the very development of democracy depends upon the way the socialist state fulfills its obligations in securing all-around social progress, while development of the state's role is essential to more and more effective advancement of the masses in social-political activity.

Meanwhile the state's capacity as a national institution is a factor that cannot be overlooked in the treatment of its role and prospects. As the Romanian nation progresses more and more intensively, the importance of the sovereign national state increases accordingly.

Uniform management of Romanian society is closely correlated with all the workers' initiative and responsibility. Moreover expansion of the state organs' ties with the masses and their continuous dialogue with them as well as their exercise of a tight control over every state organ's activity are indispensable to the improvement and growth of the state's contribution to national socialist construction. As Nicolae Ceausescu said in his Address to the Solemn Assembly on the 65th Anniversary of the founding of the RCP, "We must never forget that we are building socialism with the people and for the people and that development of workers revolutionary democracy and the masses' participation in management are critical to purposeful determination of their own future by the people themselves and to the victory of socialism and communism in Romania."

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CSO: 2700/23

BRIEFS

NEW DEPUTY MINISTER--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Stefan Nicolae is appointed deputy minister of the food industry and of the acquisition of agricultural products. [Excerpts]
[Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 72, 22 Nov 86 p 12] /8918

PEOPLES COUNCILS OFFICIALS--On the basis of Article 97 of Law No 57/1968 on the organization and operation of the peoples councils, the President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Ileana Paranici is appointed to fill the position of vice chairman of the executive committee of the Suceava County Peoples Council and Comrade Leonard Constantin is appointed to fill the position of vice chairman of the executive committee of the Teleorman County Peoples Council. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 72, 22 Nov 86 p 12] /8918

CSO: 2700/79

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